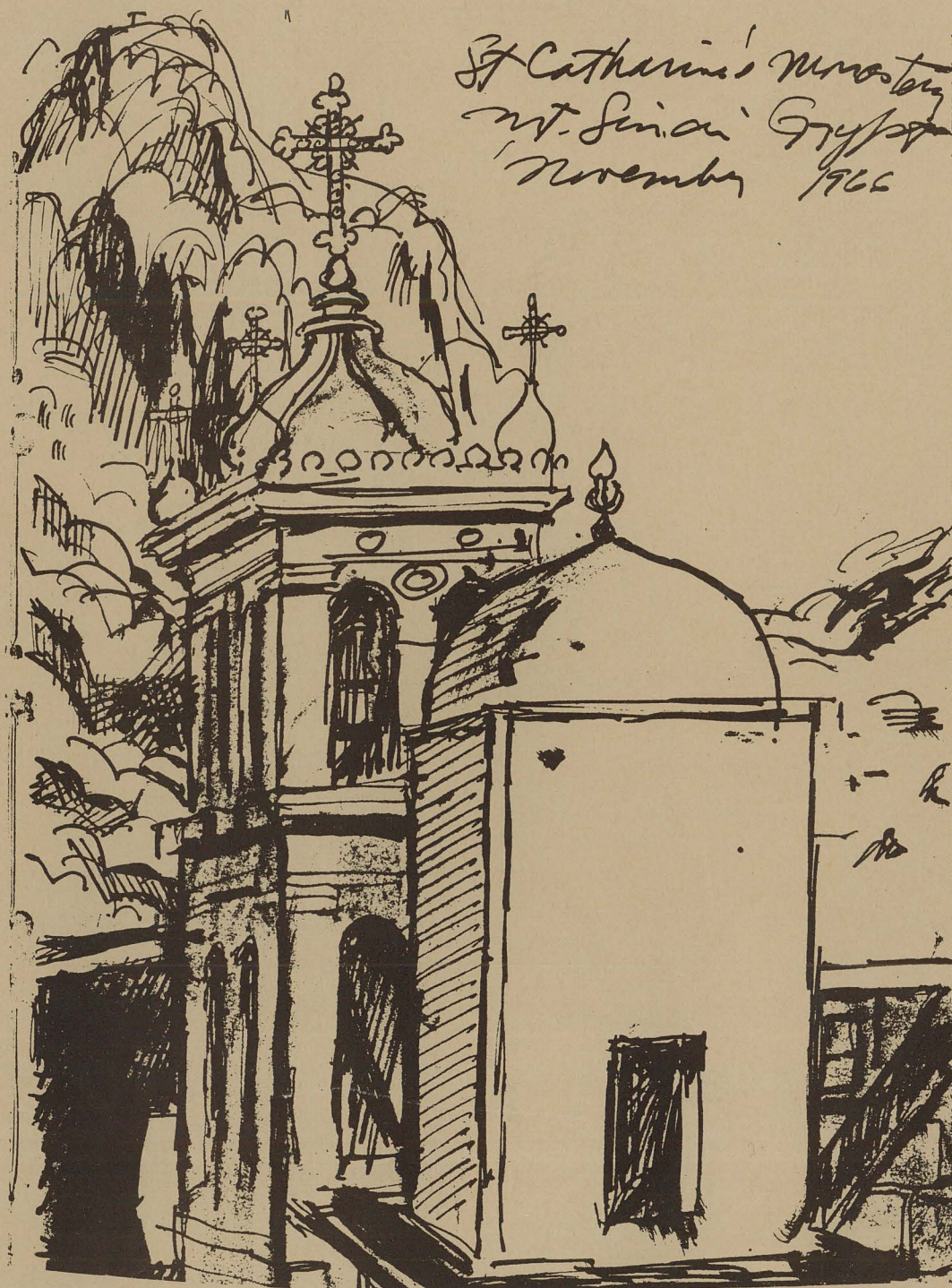


AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

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AN EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS FROM EGYPT, <i>Joe Stefanelli</i>	3
RESULTS OF THE 1981 EXCAVATIONS AND SURVEY AT NAUKRATIS, <i>Wm. Coulson and Albert Leonard, Jr.</i>	12
WADI SHEIKH ALI SURVEY, DECEMBER 1980, <i>Marvin W. Meyer</i>	22
RESEARCHING THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN MODERN EGYPT, <i>Valerie J. Hoffman</i>	25
GREEK POTTERY IN EGYPT, <i>Marjorie Venit</i>	30
SURVEY RESEARCH FOR THE HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERARY THEORY, <i>Wolfhart Heinrichs</i>	32
EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND NIGERIA: FOREIGN RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA, 1960-1980, <i>Lois A. Aroian</i>	41
AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION AND MALE-FEMALE POWER RELATIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN DELTA, <i>Soheir A. Morsy</i>	49
NEWS OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS	57
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE VALLEY OF THE QUEENS	60

Cover: *St. Catherine's Monastery. Sinai. Joe Stefanelli.*
See article within.



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AN EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS FROM EGYPT

BY JOE STEFANELLI

APRIL 2 THROUGH MAY 5, 1982

In 1966 and 1967 I had an ARCE grant to study Egyptian Tomb Paintings. I visited forty or more tombs and photographed all that I was able. The Tomb Paintings had an affinity to the work that I was involved in at the time. The structural quality, the architectonic way in which they were put together, had a very strong influence on my paintings. Most of all the inspirational effect they had on me as an artist was important. Artists in the past constantly went to other cultures for their inspirational source. But Egypt's inspiration for my work was not the obvious imagery of pyramids and sphinxes but rather the basic picture structure inherent in all the art of Egypt.

While in Egypt and photographing tombs, I began drawing. I am essentially a non-figurative painter and involved with the abstract. When I got to Egypt I wanted very much to record what I was experiencing on paper and do it realistically in the manner of a diary. Rendering the drawings put me more in the artists' places. Sometimes too my focus would digress and I found myself doing portraits of felaheen or Egyptian landscapes.

As the work that I had done in Egypt was done in relation to my paintings, it never occurred to me that they might have any exhibition value. I considered them of a personal nature much like a diary which I would refer to from time to time. It has only recently been that I thought these drawings would have any exhibition value. I am most reluctant to part with any of them and cherish these drawings as a memorable record of my stay in Egypt.

Joe Stefanelli

Joe Stefanelli's work has appeared in many one-man shows as well as in Annual shows and group ones. His works are held in a wide number of private and Museum collections. He works in New York City and teaches at New

York University. His sketches of Egypt will appear at

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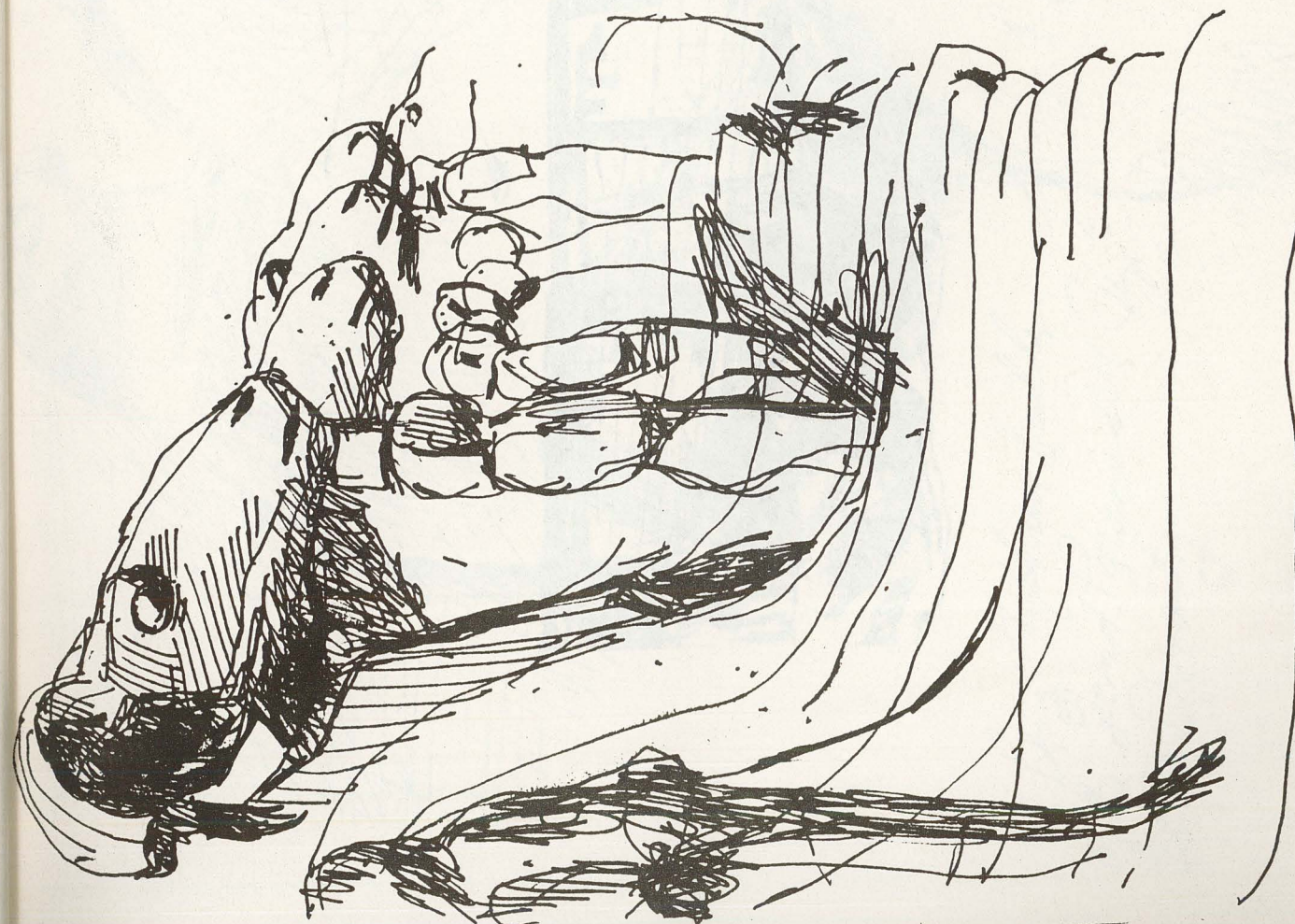
List of Illustrations below:

1. Avenue of Rams. Karnak Temple.
2. A Civil guard.
3. Temple of Ramesses III. Medinet Habu.
4. Statue of King Chephren. Cairo Museum.
5. Coptic sculpture. Coptic Museum.
6. The God Horus. Cairo Museum.
7. The Goddess Hathor and the King. Cairo Museum.
8. Mosque of Sultan Hassan. From the Citadel.
9. Cover. Monastery of St. Catherine.

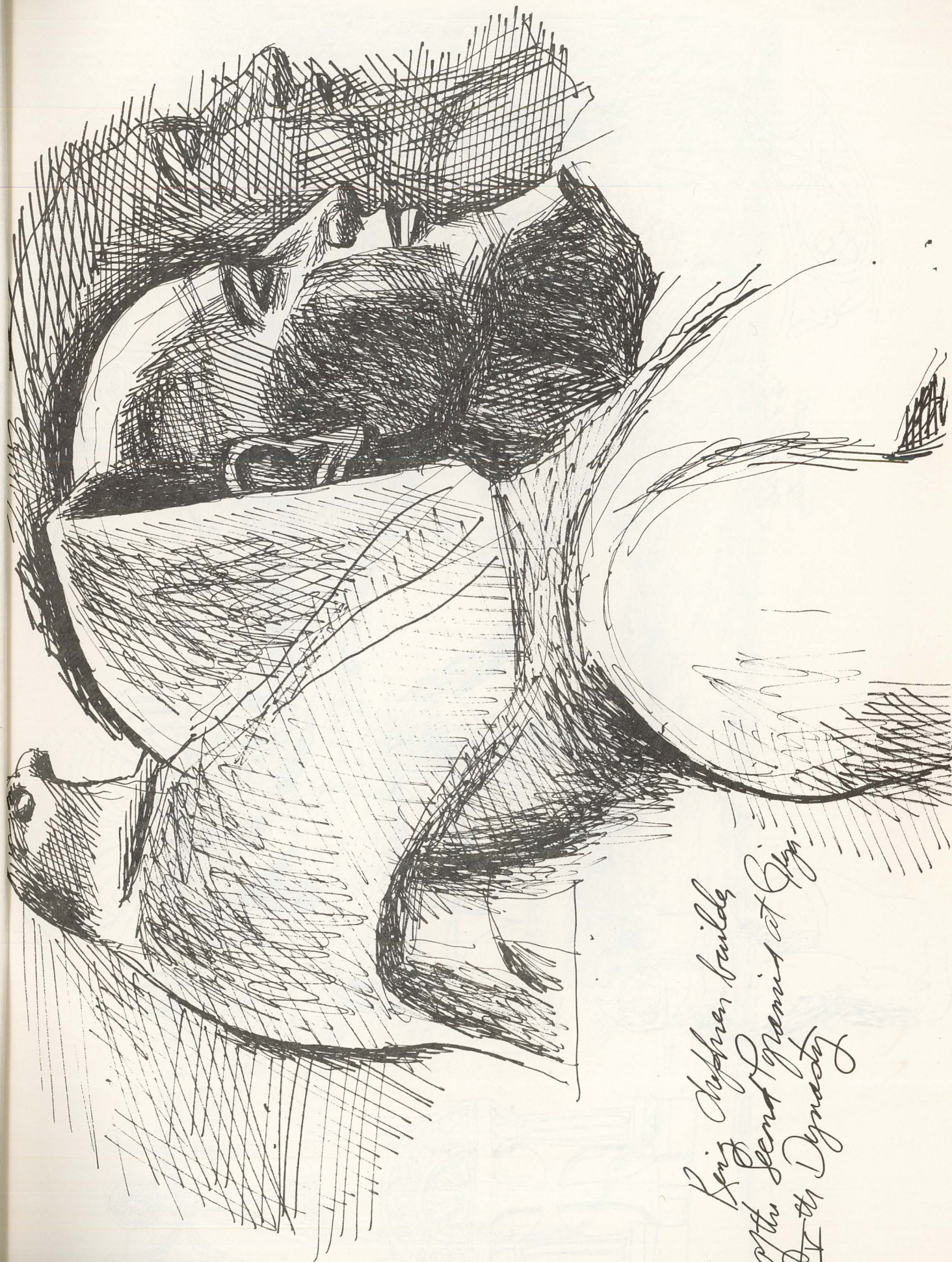
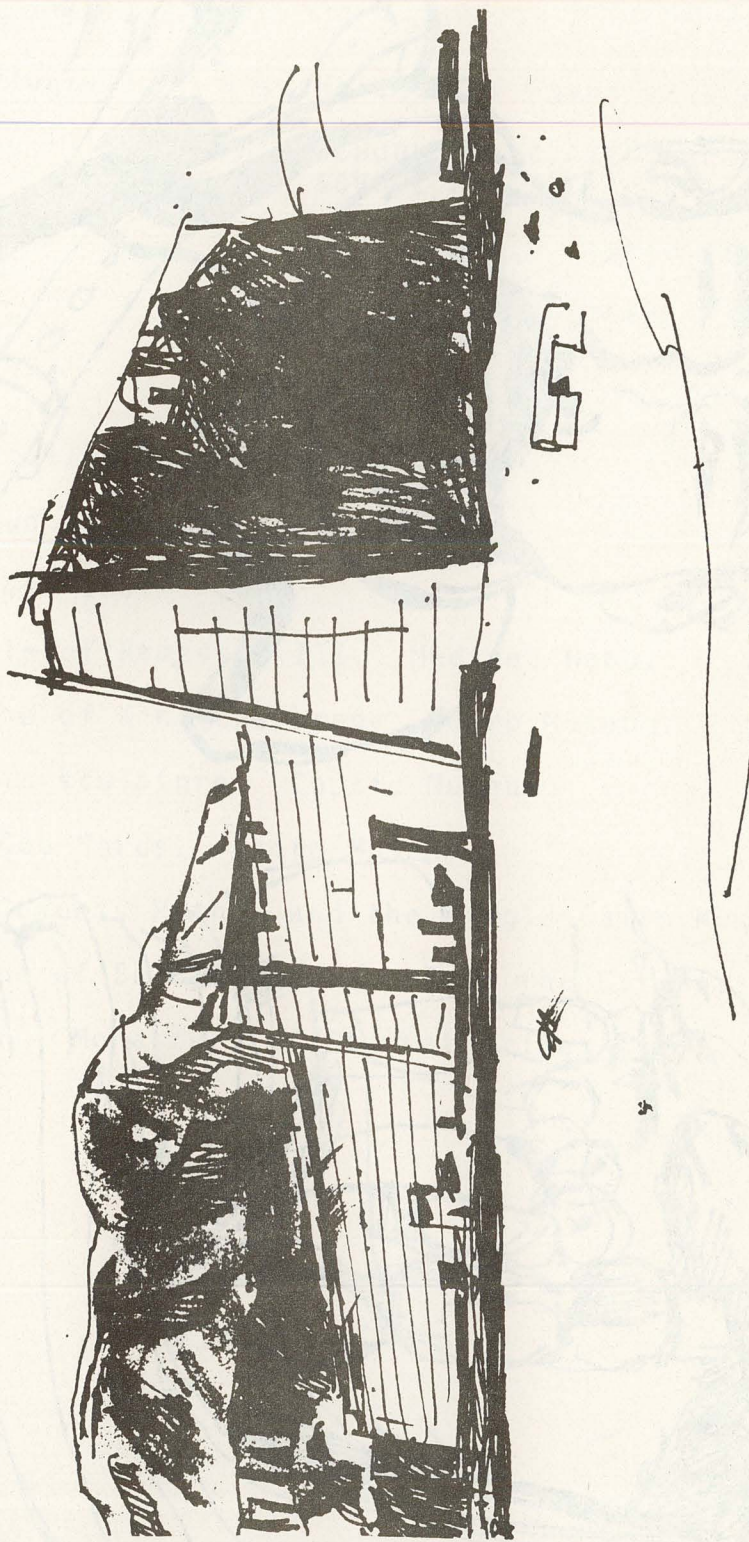
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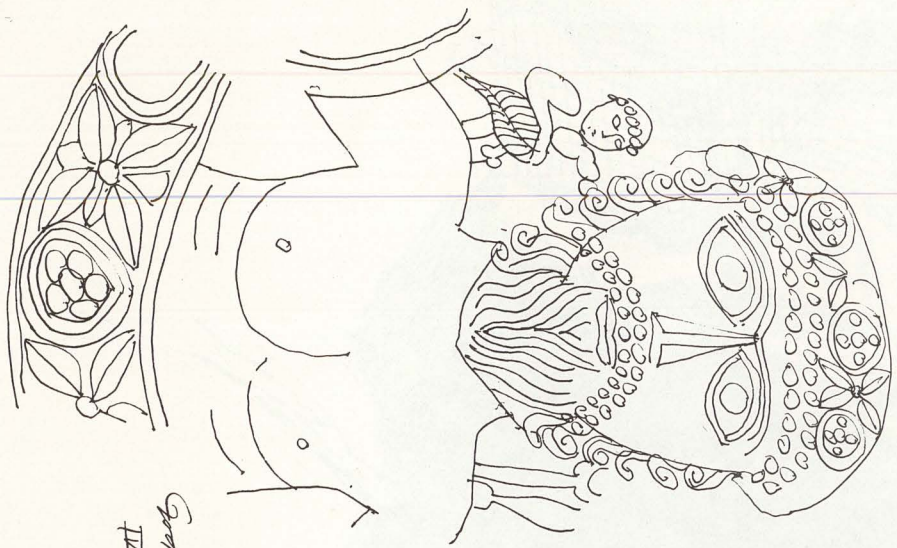
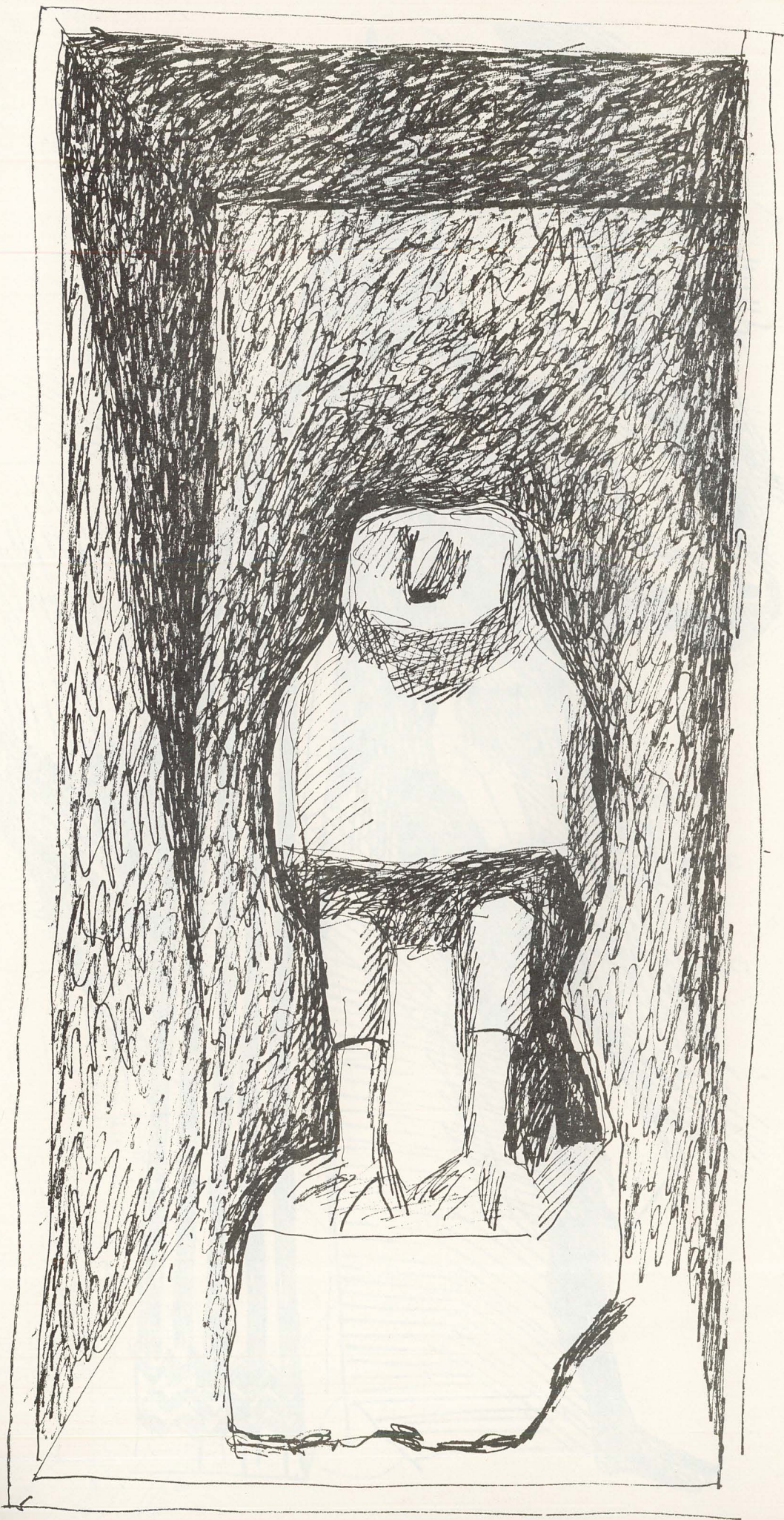
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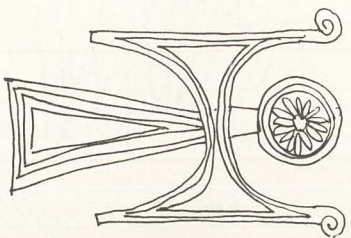
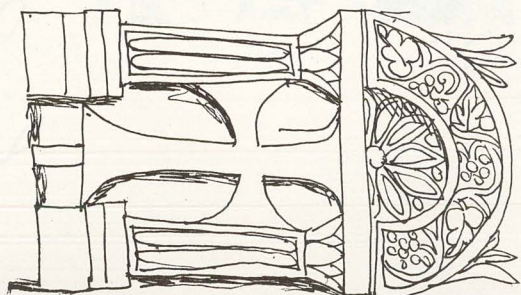
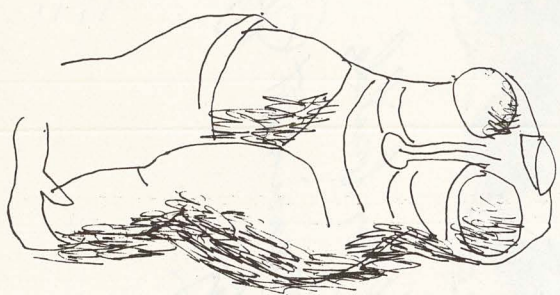
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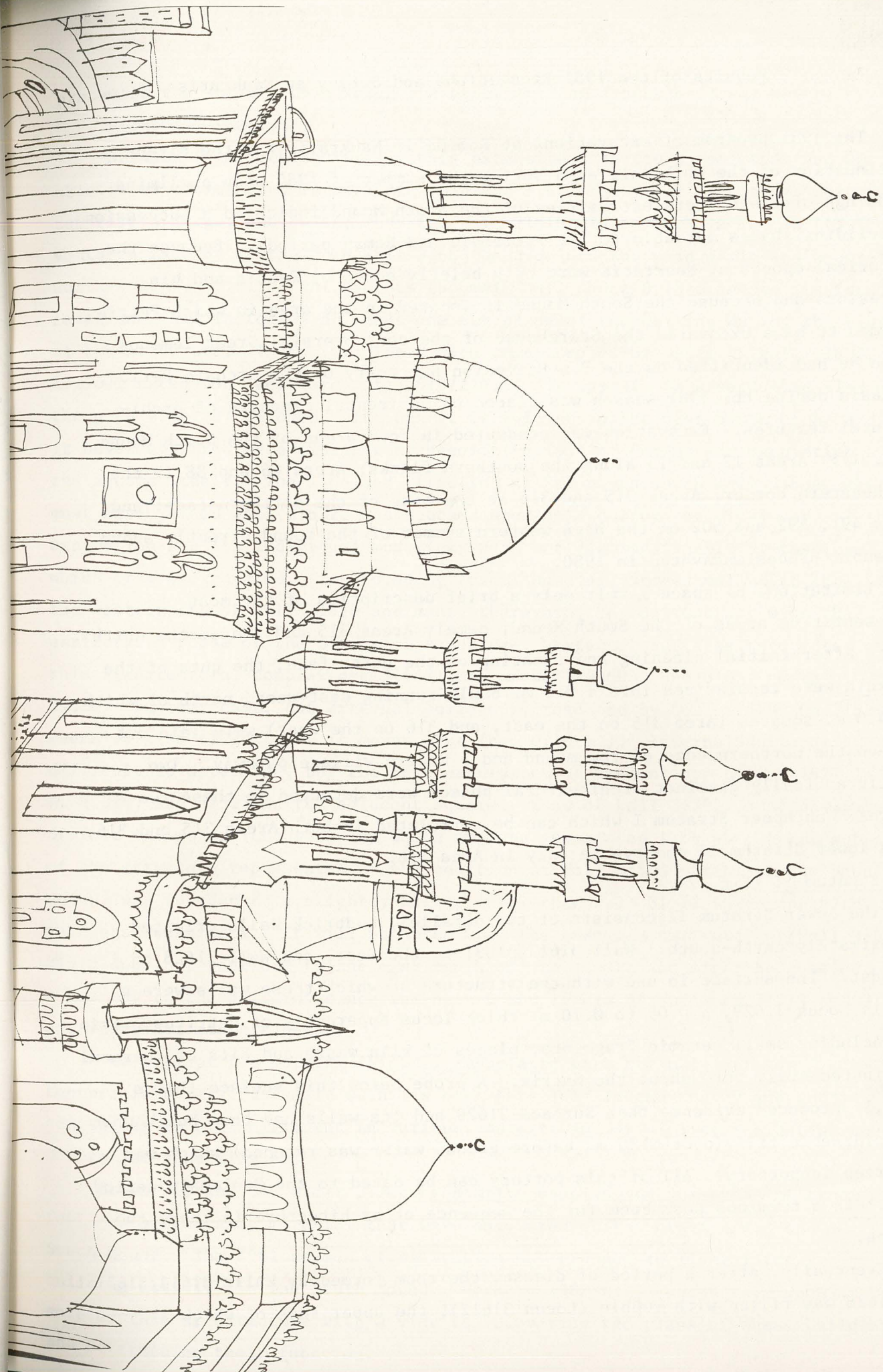
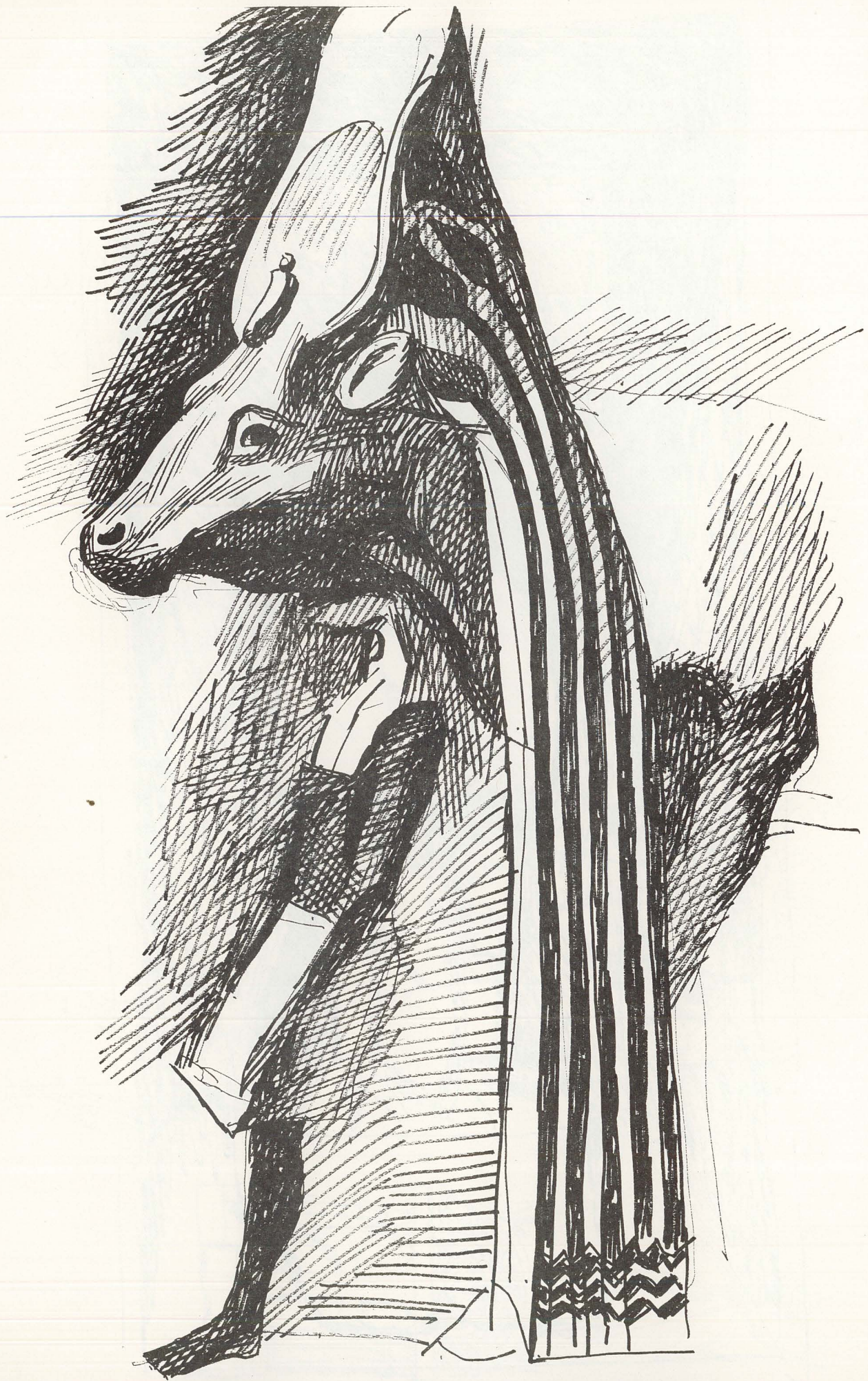


King Nubren builds
of the Second Dynasty at Giza
IVth Dynasty



Good of the Nile
17th Century





Results of the 1981 Excavations and Survey at Naukratis

The 1981 program of excavations at Kom Ge'if/Naukratis was the direct continuation of the work initiated during the summer of 1980 when preliminary soundings of the western extremities of the South Mound indicated a succession of building phases dateable to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Because the historical epochs at Naukratis were only briefly noted by Petrie and his successors and because the South Mound is located in the area in which Petrie claimed to have excavated the Storehouse of the controversial Great Temenos which he had identified as the Pan-Hellenion Sanctuary of the Archaic Period, emphasis during the 1981 season was placed on horizontal exposure of architectural features. Excavation was conducted in four areas of the South Mound (Fig. 1): Areas 12 and 15 along the southern flanks; Areas 66 and 88 in the northeastern corner; Areas 315 and 316 at the base of the northern face; and Areas 491, 492 and 502 on the high western summit of the mound directly above the small probes excavated in 1980.

Limitations of space permit only a brief description of the most representative areas of the South Mound, namely Areas 315 and 316 at the north face. After initial cleaning and clearing of the north face, the cuts of the sebakhin were regularized into a 9.0 m. baulk running east-west, north of which two 4.0 m. squares (Area 315 on the east, and 316 on the west) were laid out between the northern edge of the mound and a modern village pathway. Two stratigraphically distinct architectural phases were detected in these two squares: an upper Stratum I which can be correlated in both Areas 315 and 316, and a lower Stratum II observable only in Area 316.

Stratum II (Fig. 2)

The lower Stratum II consists of two parallel, mudbrick walls oriented approximately north-south: Wall 31613/31631 on the west, and Wall 31628 on the east. The surface in use with the structure of which these walls were a part is Locus 31629, a 0.05 to 0.10 m. thick locus apparently of detritus origin, but including small ceramic fragments, pieces of kiln waste and bits of charcoal distributed evenly throughout the matrix. A probe below this surface (Locus 31629.1) produced evidence that Surface 31629 and its walls had been built upon a considerable fill (over 0.30 m. before ground water was reached) which was very rich in pottery. All of this pottery can be dated to the Ptolemaic period and offers a terminus post quem for the sequence of architecture in these two squares.

Eventually, after a period of disuse, the room formed by Walls 31613/31631 and 31628 was filled with rubble (Locus 31612), the upper face of which

presented the surface upon which the upper stratum (Stratum I) was built.

Stratum I (Fig. 3)

Stratum I is architecturally more extensive than its predecessor and was able to be coordinated in both Area 315 and 316. The major structural features comprise a large, east-west, mudbrick Wall 31616/31515 which is met on its southern face by north-south Wall 31603 bonded into the main wall; and a parallel, north-south Wall 31504 which abuts the main wall about 0.10 m. above its founding level and thus indicates at least one sub-phase of remodelling during the history of the structure. To be associated with this complex of walls is Wall 31632, the logical extension (westward) of 31616/31515. It appears in a segmented line on the plan (Fig. 3) because, although it is evident in the west baulk of Area 316, it never appeared as a distinct archaeological entity during the excavation of the square itself. The line and direction of the north-south Wall 31634, which must have joined Wall 31632, was touched upon only during the final days of the excavation and its individual mudbricks were not distinguishable at the level to which it was excavated. Its founding level, however, agrees well with that of the western end of Wall 31616 and must, therefore, be contemporary with the earlier sub-phase of the Stratum I structure. External surfaces associated with this architectural complex are 31612 west of Wall 31603, and 31627 north of Wall 31616. Further east, the external surface represented by Loci 31528 and 31529 seems to rise slightly as it moves east (ca. 0.10 m.). Internal surfaces are difficult to determine, but the best candidates at present are Locus 31621 in Area 316, and 31512 in the adjacent square. East of Wall 31504, a second internal surface was noted (Locus 31514) which must be associated with the second sub-phase of the structure represented by the addition of Wall 31504 which, as has been noted, was founded at a slightly higher level than Wall 31515 which abuts the main east-west wall. It will be noted that the eastward extremity of Wall 31616/31515 does not continue to the east baulk of the square and might be considered a doorway to the building since the nature and levels of Surfaces 31514 and 31529 are identical at this point.

The date of the pottery (Fig. 4) associated with the main Stratum I architecture is purely Ptolemaic with its best parallels in the Chatby and Hadra cemeteries in Alexandria and in various contexts in Syria-Palestine dating to the 3rd to 1st centuries B.C.

Areas 315 and 316 offer a representative sampling of the types of architectural features and ceramic material that were uncovered in the other areas opened in the South Mound. The 1981 season of excavation has brought to light intensive Ptolemaic building activity in the South Mound. Work in 1982 will concentrate upon exposing more of this architecture with a view to recovering the plans of these buildings and determining their function.

The 1981 program of survey both at Naukratis and in its environs also represented a continuation of work begun in 1980 and consisted of three parts:

- a) Continuation of survey, begun in 1980, of the fields surrounding Naukratis (Kom Ge'if) in order to determine the extent of sherd cover now present and, hence, the original extent of the ancient city and whether or not it had the chora of a true polis;
- b) Sherding and trial trenches (sondages) at Kom Firin and Kom Dahab, two of the most important sites in the regional survey area, with a view to establishing a corpus of pottery from these sites and comparing the material found on the surface with the sub-surface material; and,
- c) Continuation of the regional survey by adding new sites to the register of sites being created by the project in a 30 km. area to the north and west of Kom Ge'if, specifically from El-Barnugi in the north to Kom el-Hisn in the south.

Of the above, the trials at Kom Firin produced perhaps the most representative results and, accordingly, will be discussed briefly here.

Trial Trench I was opened at a distance of 5.50 m. to the north of the double-walled structure in the citadel area (Fig. 5). At least three building periods, distinguished by the types and colors of bricks used, can be observed in this structure. Three distinct building periods, then, can be detected from remains on the surface. The purpose of Trench I was to recover the sequence of building periods beneath the surface, to determine their connection, if any, with the double-walled structure, and to uncover the stratigraphy in this important central area of the citadel. Architecturally, Trench I was quite significant, since the small 2.0 m. x 2.0 m. square contained mudbrick walls of at least six distinct periods, emphasizing the extent of building activity that took place in the citadel area in Graeco-Roman times.

After the removal of topsoil (Locus 1002), the first feature uncovered was a large mudbrick wall (1008) forming a corner at its NW end. Sandy fill (Loci 1005, 1006, 1007) was cleared from all faces of the wall, and the resulting delineation of the wall divided the trench into three distinct areas:

SE corner: excavation here was very fruitful, exposing the portion of a circular wall (tower?) (1029) together with a clear foundation trench. Removal of 1008 in this corner resulted in the exposure of a third mudbrick wall (1028) upon which 1008 had been built and into which 1029 had been cut. The southern face of 1028 was used as the wall of the foundation trench for 1029 and was also lined with large amphora body fragments to provide packing (fig. 6).

SW area: after the removal of mudbrick detritus belonging to 1008, a large pit (1010) was discovered containing at least three different pithoi; the pit had in part been cut into the west face of 1008. Removal of 1008 here exposed two addi-

tional mudbrick walls (1025 and 1032) running in an E x W direction and extending into the west baulk. Wall 1025 appears to have been an addition to 1008, and Wall 1032 an addition to the earlier 1028 (Fig. 6).

N.area: this area to the north of 1008 and 1028 was taken down to a depth of 2.44 m. below the surface and presented the most interesting stratigraphy, including at least five distinct surfaces associated with the use of Wall 1028. The surprise here was the discovery of a sixth wall (1045) running diagonally in a NE x SW direction under 1028. Time did not permit the clearing of this wall, and it is hoped to continue Trench I in the 1982 season.

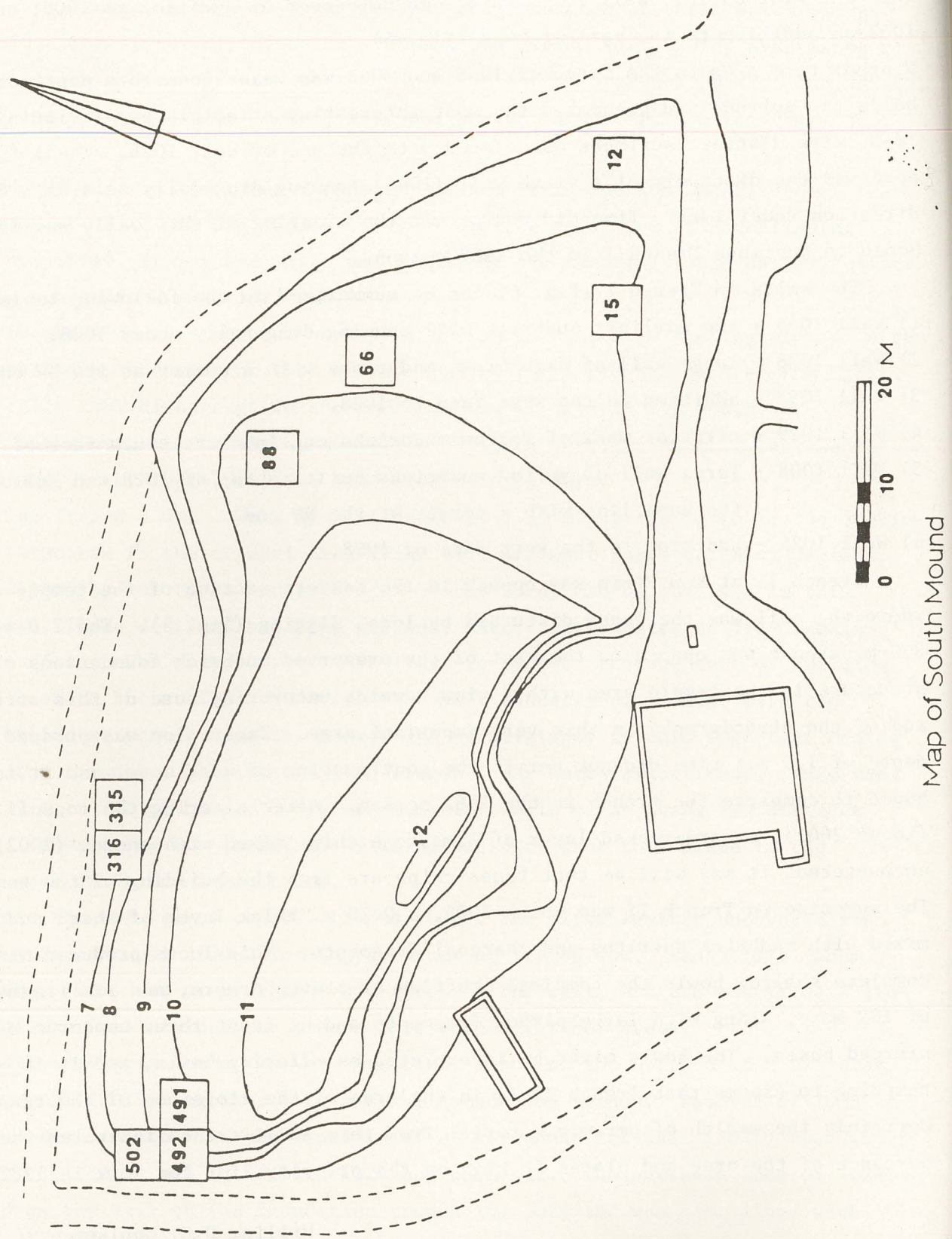
The walls in Trench I (Fig. 6) can be summarized in the following table:

- 1) Wall 1045 - the earliest mudbrick wall running diagonally under 1028.
- 2) Wall 1028 - large wall of dark brown mudbricks with a corner at its NW end.
- 3) Wall 1032 - addition to the west face to 1028.
- 4) Wall 1029 - circular wall of yellow mudbricks cut into the south face of 1028.
- 5) Wall 1008 - large wall of yellow mudbricks built on top of 1028 and following the same line with a corner at the NW end.
- 6) Wall 1025 - addition to the west face of 1008.

Trench II at Kom Firin was opened in the eastern section of the temple area where the soil was the least disturbed by local digging (Fig. 5). The 2.0 m. x 2.0 m. trench was opened to the east of the preserved mudbrick foundations of a structure in the temple area with a view towards uncovering more of this structure and of the stratigraphy in this very important area. Excavation was pursued to a depth of 1.0 m.; time did not permit the continuation of work here, and it is hoped to complete the trench in the 1982 season. After clearing the topsoil (Locus 2001), a hard-packed layer of limestone chips mixed with sherds (2002) was encountered. It may well be that these chips are from the building of the temple. The surprise in Trench II was Locus 2005, a 0.20 m. thick layer of sherd and bone mixed with mudbrick detritus and charcoal fragments. This locus produced nine complete shallow bowls the complete profiles of eleven others, and rim fragments of 185 more, along with large pithos fragments and at least three amphorae with pierced bases. The bowls might be interpreted as offering bowls, and it is tempting to assume that Trench II is in the area of the storeroom of the temple. Certainly the wealth of ceramic material from this small trench indicates the importance of the area and places it high on the priority list for work in 1982.

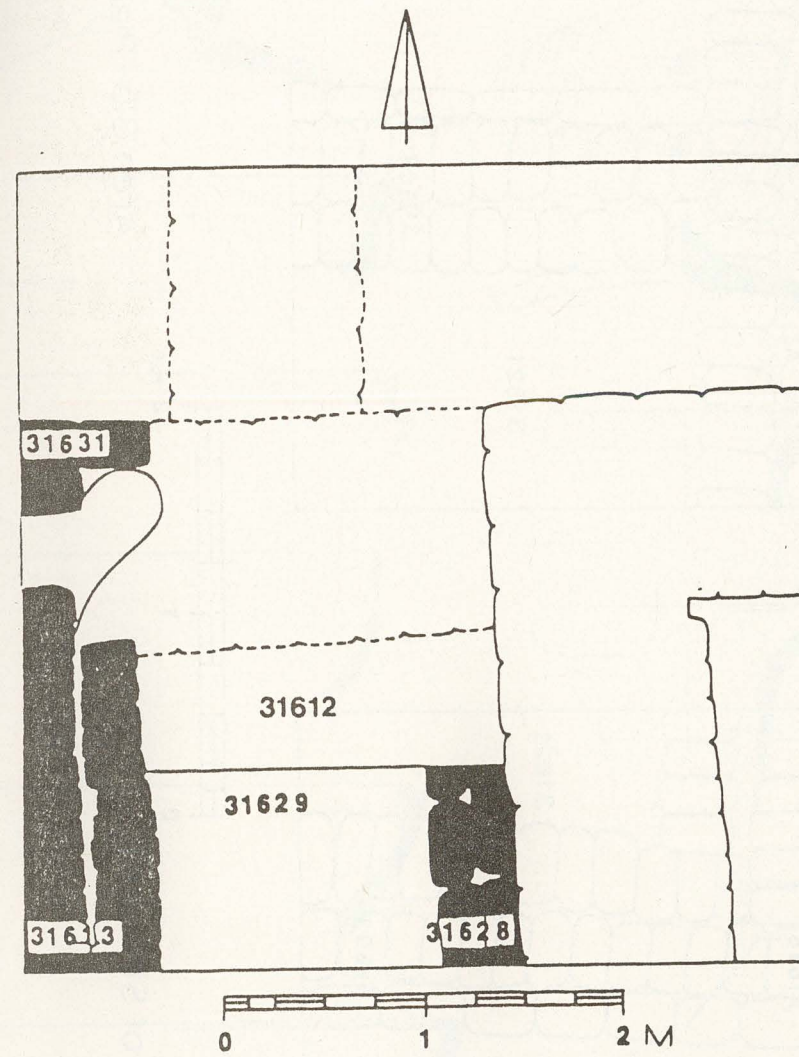
William D.E. Coulson

Albert Leonard, Jr.



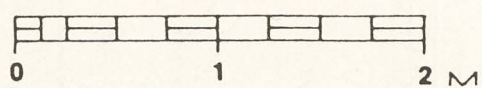
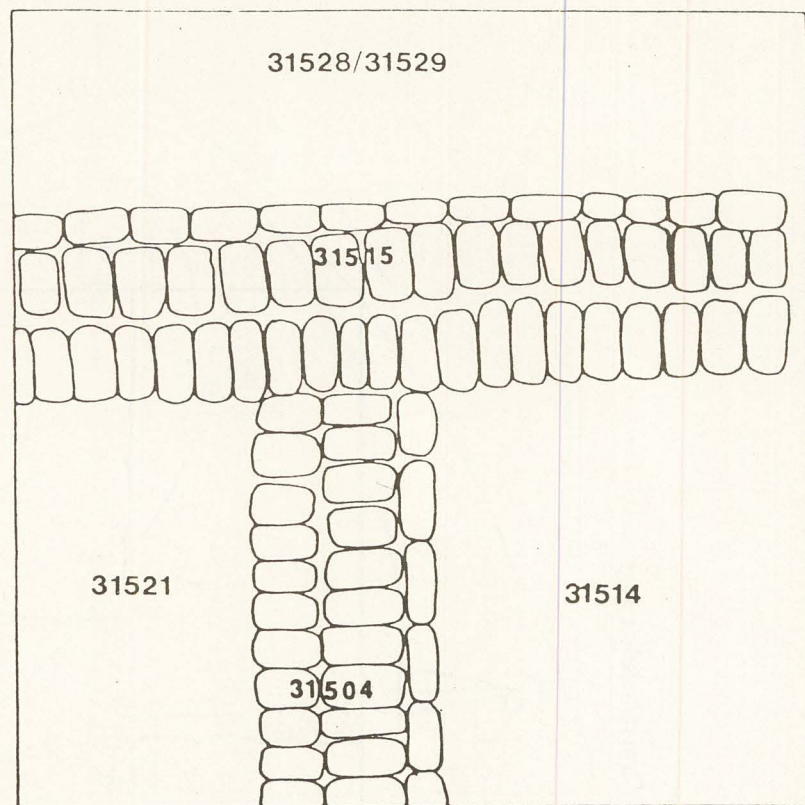
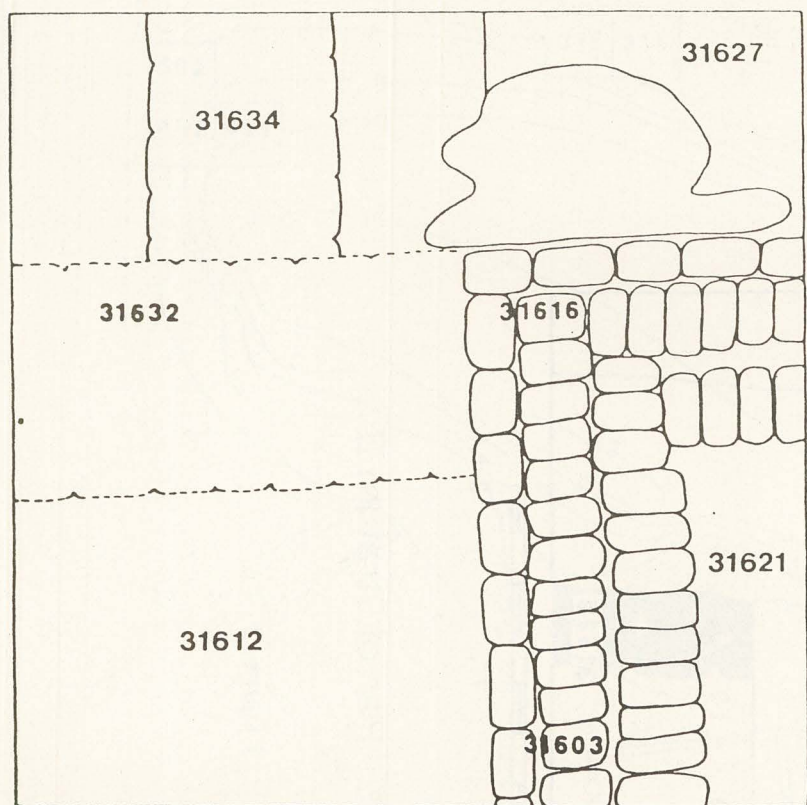
Map of South Mound

Naukratis 1981, South Mound



Area 316 - Plan of Stratum II

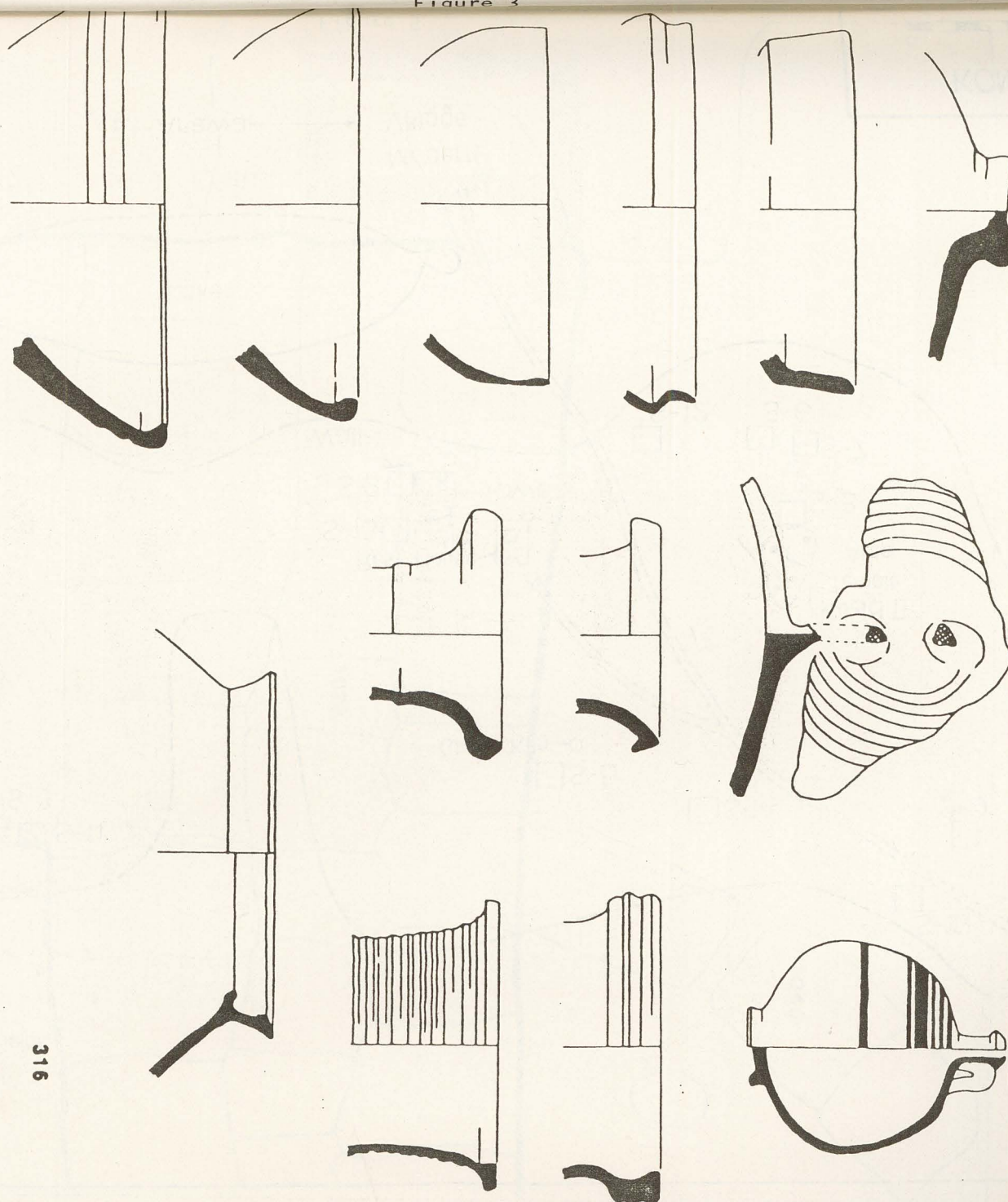
Figure 2



Area 316 - Plan of Stratum I

Area 315 - Plan

Figure 3



Pottery from Area 316



316

Figure 4

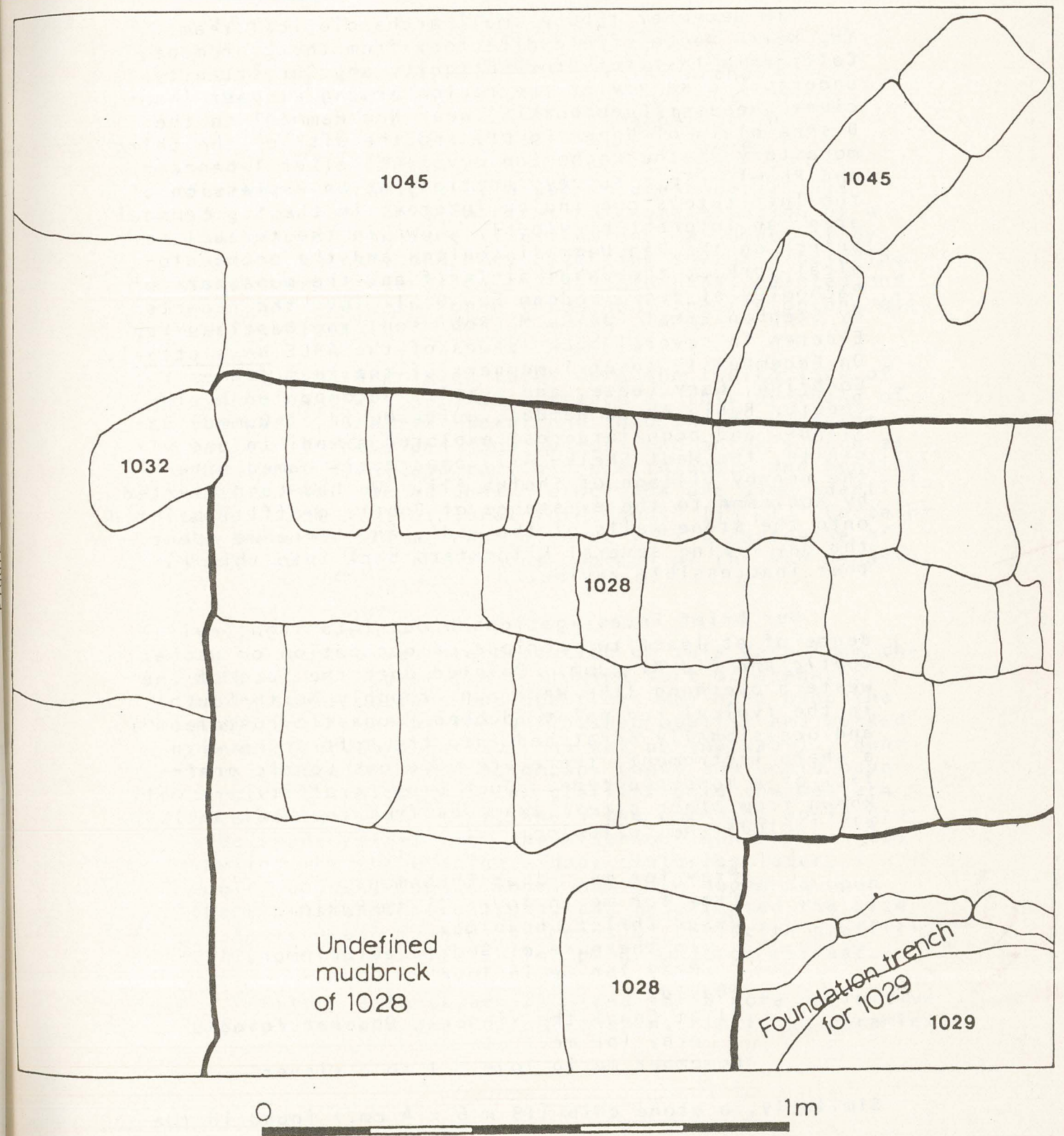
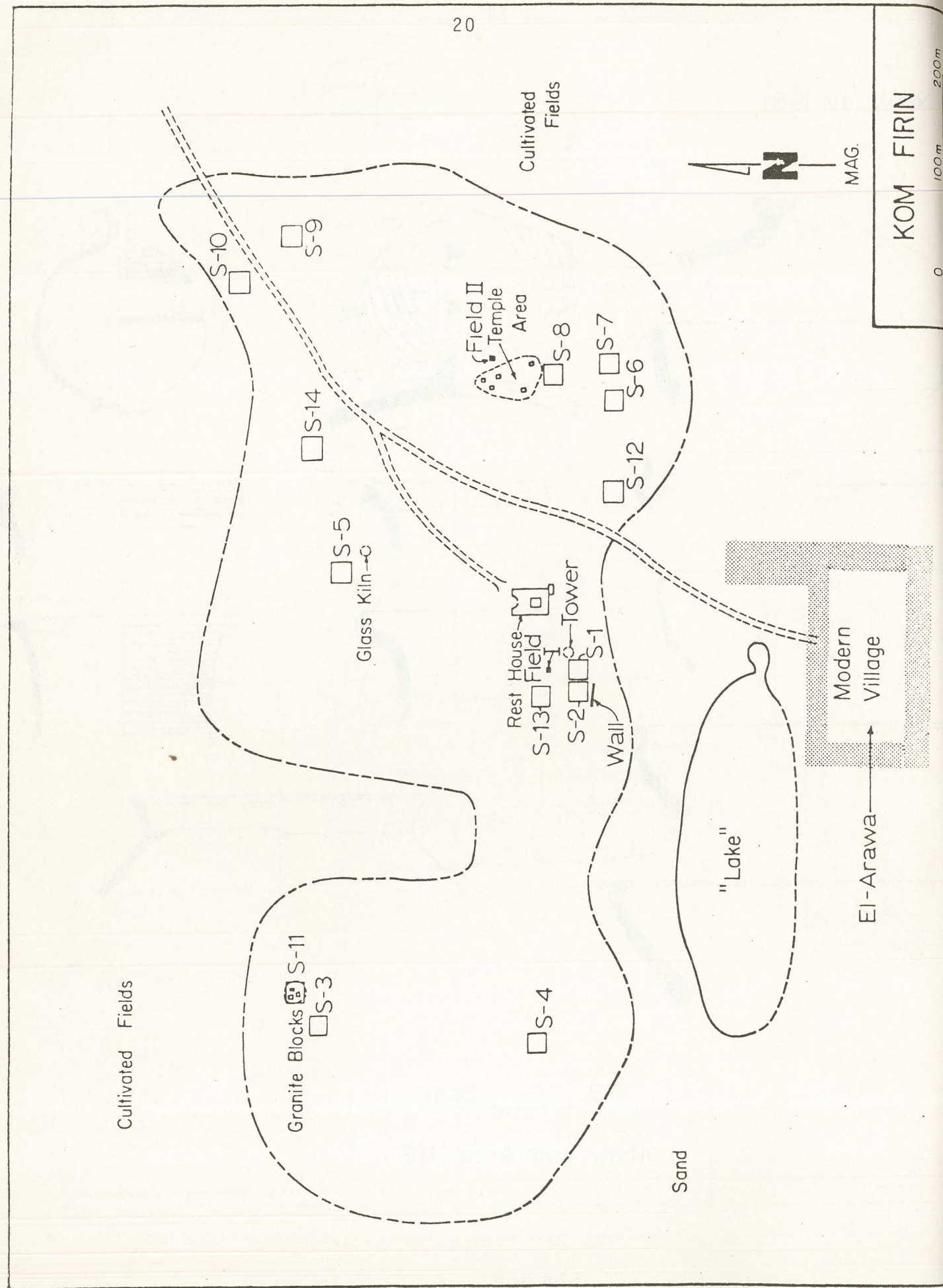


Figure 6

Wadi Sheikh Ali Survey, December 1980

In December 1980 a small archaeological team (H. Keith Beebe, field director) from the Claremont, California Institute for Antiquity and Christianity undertook a survey of the region around al-Qasr (=ancient Shenaset/Chenoboskia, near Nag Hammadi on the Dishna plain of Upper Egypt, and the site of the third monastery of the Pachomian movement, after Tabennese and Pbow). This survey functions as an expression of the Institute's continuing interest in the Nag Hammadi area, an interest previously shown in the textual research on the Nag Hammadi codices and the archaeological work at the Jabal al-Tarif and the monastery of Pachomius at Pbow, modern Faw Qibli (cp. the reports by Stephen Emmel, James M. Robinson, and Bastiaan Van Elderen in several back issues of the *ARCE Newsletter*). On December 19 several members of the team (James E. Goehring, Gary Lease, and myself, accompanied by inspector Rabia Ahmed Hamdan, guide Munir al-Qummus Basilyus, and acquaintances) explored a wadi in the vicinity, the Wadi Sheikh Ali, apparently named after the nearby village of Sheikh Ali. We had been alerted by Robinson to the existence of Coptic graffiti painted onto the stone walls of the wadi, and hence we spent the day hiking several kilometers back into this rather inaccessible ravine.

Our brief investigations brought to light evidence of at least two periods of occupation or usage: Coptic and Old Kingdom. Painted onto the face of the western overhang (the Wadi runs roughly North-South) in the typical red paint (dubbed "monastic rustoleum"), and occasionally scratched into the soft stone with a sharp instrument, there are numerous Coptic graffiti of a monastic type. Such pious graffiti are well known from other sites; examples from the Wadi Sheikh Ali include the following:

Pray for me. I am Phibamon.
 Pray for me in love. I am Pakim.
 Jesus Christ, help me.
 ...in the name of God..I am Solomon.
 Pray for me in love.
 +David+
 +I am Chael the sinner. Observe love;
 pray for me.
 Remember me in love. I am a sinner.

Similarly, a stone chip (19 x 6 x 4 cm.) found in the

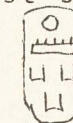
immediate area illustrates identical concerns, and the paint traces on the sides and bottom of the chip show it to have been inscribed after it had broken off. It may have functioned in a manner analogous to papyri and ostraca left in temples and churches.

+ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΡΧΗ
 ΛΕΟC ΔΡΙ
 ΠΑΜΕΔΕ ΝΑ
 ΚΑΤΤΕ (bottom)

+I am Arche-
 leos. Re-
 member me in
 love.

Further indications of a Coptic presence at this location include a fascinating representation of a monk named John (see illustration), a number of Byzantine bricks, and many Byzantine sherds, including some sherds resembling the 4th-5th cent. painted and polished red ware found throughout the region and also at Faw Qibli.

Quite surprising to us were the indications of a much earlier Egyptian presence at this overhang of the wadi. Graffiti scratched into the rock depict various scenes, and show hunters and animals such as the ibex, lion, and ram, along with boats and hunting enclosures. Occasional hieroglyphs are also identifiable, such as the plural form "gods" (𓇗𓇗𓇗). Certainly the most significant discovery is a cartouche of Menkaure



the famous pharaoh of the 4th dynasty.

A tentative interpretation of this data from the wadi would suggest the following sort of scenario. Early stone cutters and quarriers may have used the wadi (confirmed by the unfinished obelisk and worked stone observable part of the way up the wadi). Hunters naturally would accompany them, and could have scratched typical hunting graffiti onto the western face of the wadi cliff, where the overhang would provide shady relief from the afternoon sun and perhaps shelter for the evening. Many centuries later, I would suggest, Coptic monks may have happened upon the scenes and hieroglyphs, and rededicated the site in their usual fashion by means of Christian graffiti, while possibly using it for pilgrimage or retreat.

Future efforts are required for a more definitive examination and analysis of the inscriptions, ceramics,

and installations of the Wadi Sheikh Ali.

Marvin W. Meyer
Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, California

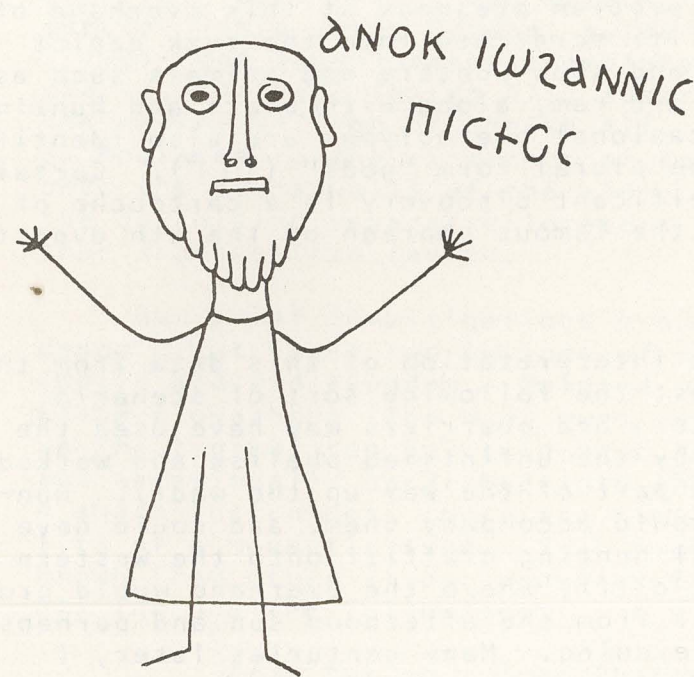


Figure of a monk, as orans, in the Wadi Sheikh Ali. Shown with beard and robe, the monk is identified with an inscription which may read "I am faithful John" or "I, John, am faithful."

RESEARCHING THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN MODERN EGYPT*

Research on Islam has tended to isolate theology from society, and the anthropological study of Islamic practice has generally suffered from neglect until recent years. There is a risk of offending Muslims by speaking of a number of ways of practicing Islam, for in theory Islam is one and its rituals are prescribed by long-established orthodoxy. It is, however, accurate to say that the religious life within Islamic societies has witnessed a tremendous amount of variety. The variety is not only regionally based, but there are several interpretations of Islam that co-exist (not always with great tolerance) in any one Islamic country today. Great upheavals of social change due to Western influence, new availability of education, and a newly emergent elite have accentuated existing differences.

From the earliest times Islamic culture has adapted the animistic and magical practices of its predecessors into a worldview and amorphous group of practices often referred to in the West as "popular Islam". This includes the use of the Qur'ān for healing and magical purposes, belief in a spirit world inhabited by jinn and 'afārīt, and the many aspects of saint veneration. Many of the rituals and beliefs of popular Islam can be defended on the basis of hadīth, and they have often but not always been tolerated by the 'ulamā', the religious scholars of Islam. Ibn Taymiyya's attack on the forms of popular religion of his day has inspired Muslims to this day to purify Islam from such accretions.

The Sufi Orders, organized around the search for a mystical knowledge of God, once formed the very backbone of the religious life of Egypt. Since the eighteenth century, however, the Orders have suffered a decline due to government control and attempts to discredit them by members of the educated elite and the Islamic reform movements. The Sufi Orders nevertheless remain a powerful force in Egyptian society, especially in the rural areas of Upper Egypt. Keenly conscious of the criticism of other Muslims, the Orders have tried to present themselves as "the ethical aspect of Islam," to use the words of Dr. Abū 'l-Wafā al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, Sheikh of the Ghunaymiyya Order and professor of philosophy at Cairo University, and they emphasize their adherence to the precepts of Islam and their affinity with Muslims as a whole. Some of the Orders attract participants mostly from the lower working class, but others are organizing activities similar to those of other modern Islamic cooperative associations (gam'iyyāt, singular gam'iyya) and are attracting members of the educated classes.

Islamic reform movements have played an important part in Egyptian society since the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, and have gained new impetus in the general resurgence of religious interest in the 1970's and the proliferation of gam'iyyāt. Qur'ānic lessons attract large numbers, religious teachers are quoted in daily conversations, the call for an Islamic form of

* This research was carried on from September 1980 to October 1981 through a fellowship from the American Research Center in Egypt funded by the International Communications Agency from PL-480 funds.

government has become more strident, and thousands of university students are donning Islamic dress in an attempt to define an Islamic lifestyle for themselves.

With this background in mind, it is clear that the study of the religious life in Egypt is no simple matter, but encounters bewildering complexity.

If the anthropological study of Islam has been generally neglected until recent years, the study of women's participation in Islamic religious life has suffered even more neglect. This may have been due to a concentration on aspects of religious life that excluded women, or were largely in the hands of men. Or it may have been due to the high illiteracy rate among women, which barred them from participating in aspects of Islam that were literacy-based. The segregation of the sexes in Islam has had pervasive impact, and the religious life of women often developed an aspect that was separate from that of men.³ Women have often been the bearers of tradition and folk culture.

But today large numbers of women in Egypt have access to education, and they have invaded the work force. What has been the effect of education and the beginning of desegregation on women's participation in Islamic religious life? This was the object of my study.

My first problem was to establish a workable methodology. Since I had originally couched the problem in terms of social class, I considered the possibility of dividing Egyptian (or, rather, Cairene) society into social classes and seeking to obtain a representative sample from each class to interview. But dividing Egyptian society by social class is a very debatable issue: based on income? education? standard of living? community? I also began to realize that covering a broad enough sample to yield statistically valid results would also yield only a superficial impression of what is actually going on in the religious activities of women. Besides, there was a great danger of imposing my own biases and criteria in a way that might produce data but poorly reflect the Egyptian situation. I was not particularly interested in a representative sample of Muslim women but in a deeper understanding of the kind of participation in Islamic religious activities available to women, and how they expressed their faith in practice. Such a deep understanding would require longer-term association with networks of religious women whose activities I could observe and whom I could get to know on a personal basis. I favored a non-statistical anthropological approach based on participant-observation and interviewing, mostly though not exclusively on an informal basis, so that I would not unwittingly impose my own categories of thought on the way that they would choose to express themselves. I also decided to remain almost exclusively in Cairo. The urban-rural dichotomy in Egypt is profound in almost every aspect of life, and I could not hope to adequately deal with it.⁴

Fieldwork of this sort is never without its hazards and frustrations. One is inevitably met with people who wish to control the types of people one meets, and one is subjected to endless interrogation before one is allowed an entree. I was not exempt, and at times despaired of ever attaining my object. Other times, even when research was going well, the encounter was emotionally exhausting. Muslims today are (understandably) suspicious of the motives of Western scholars of Islam. It was usually assumed I either was a Muslim, intended to become a Muslim, or intended to harm Islam. On one occasion a young man who was helping me was warned I could be "a nun in disguise"! I was questioned about my faith, and subjected to long harangues on the superiority of Islam over Christianity. In spite of all this, many Muslims were eager to help me, for a variety of motives, and many good

and genuine friendships were formed. I am indebted to more people than I have room to mention here. I also was able to obtain a degree of anonymity and respect by dressing in a very modest fashion: long sleeves, high neckline, fairly long skirt, and a scarf which completely covered my hair.

The group with which I spent the most time was Al-'Ashīra 'l-Muhammadiyya, a Sufi-based gam'iyya with a women's division. I am very grateful to Sheikh Muhammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, founder of the gam'iyya and Sheikh of the Muḥammadiyya Shādhiliyya Sufi Order, and to his wife 'Afāf, for welcoming me to their women's meetings and other activities, and for their readiness to answer my questions. I attended the weekly women's meetings regularly from mid-January to mid-October, and was able to become acquainted with a number of women in the group, some of them very well. Sheikh Muhammad Zakī Ibrāhīm was Azhar-educated,⁵ and has also taught at that institution. He is actively involved in the defense of Sufism and such practices as shrine visitation against those who claim they are un-Islamic. By establishing his own gam'iyya not under the supervision of the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders,⁶ he has been able to circumvent the prohibition of female membership in the Orders. The women's meetings, which begin with communal prayer at sunset and end with the 'ishā' prayer, include a lesson given by the Sheikh or another qualified individual (the Sheikh is very old and has often been ill), whether a man or a woman, as well as a time when the women question the Sheikh on matters of fiqh or of doctrine. The Sheikh has a paternal relationship with the women, who call him "Papa" and kiss his hand. His baraka (spiritual power) is also sought through his touch or by drinking from his glass or by carrying some article, such as a small coin, which he has had in his possession. The women who come to the meetings are of all ages, are literate and sometimes highly educated, and dress modestly in long skirts, long sleeves and head covering, but there is no uniformity in their dress. The 'Ashīra also has a number of social services typical of the gam'iyyāt of contemporary Egypt: literacy classes, classes in crafts for women, several Islamic pre-schools for four to six-year-olds, and a clinic where medical attention is given to the poor at a very nominal fee. The 'Ashīra also has an institute for adults which it established with another well-known gam'iyya, Shabāb Muḥammad, and it publishes the magazine, Al-Muslim.

I had contact with several other gam'iyyāt, most especially Al-Muḥāfaza 'Alā 'l-Qur'ān al-Karīm in Manyal. Through this gam'iyya I was introduced to large numbers of women, mostly university students or graduates, who wear the ḥigāb, or head veil (which is distinct from the niqāb, or face veil). Far from being a regression into a traditional garb signalling inferiority to men, the ḥigāb is a non-traditional garment symbolizing the determination of these women to define and create an Islamic lifestyle for themselves, even at times over the objections of their parents, a lifestyle which enforces strict modesty for women and a segregation of the sexes insofar as this is possible in public life. The ḥigāb affords a barrier to the approach of men where this segregation is not possible. The "re-veiling" of the Egyptian woman is a much-discussed phenomenon in modern Egypt, but it is only a symptom of the resurgence of interest in Islam as a norm for society and a style of life. I interviewed a number of these women.⁸ I was also invited to a weekly Qur'ānic lesson in a mosque in Munīra attended exclusively by women wearing the ḥigāb, and often also the niqāb and gloves, which are not required by Islamic law but are considered a sign of greater religiosity. This Qur'ānic lesson was given by a man, but others which I attended were given by women, most notably at

the university in the women's prayer rooms, and at the Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd mosque in Muhandisīn. Women have been very visibly active in the Islamic resurgence of the past decade, and Muslims faced with Western accusations that Islam oppresses women have been very concerned to stress the importance of the women's role in creating an Islamic society.

I also spent some time observing the activities at saints' shrines. Some shrines have certain days of the week that are associated with their visitation, and some of them have the dhikr ritual⁹ performed at the shrine by various Sufi Orders on that day. While this is traditionally an exclusively male activity, women are always present as observers, and some dhikrs, such as that at the Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya shrine, have more women actually involved in the dhikr than at other shrines. While most visitors to a shrine go for a particular need, there is a group of people, men and women, who can be seen consistently at the various shrines. Some women also travel the circuits of moulids, or saint's-day celebrations, and develop a camaraderie with each other. In this connection I became acquainted with some illiterate and poorly educated Sufis, among whom were women considered to possess an unusual spiritual intuition, and who exercise authority in a spiritual and a practical sense even over men. In this group there appeared to be no barriers of sexual segregation, which is a cause of great horror among other Muslim groups which believe sexual segregation to be essential for moral purity. But in this world, where spiritual authority is conferred by God-given power rather than man-given certification, there can be no exclusion of women.

This is just a brief survey of some of the aspects of the religious life of Muslim women uncovered by my research. I am grateful to the American Research Center in Egypt for making this research possible.

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NOTES

1. Clifford Geertz's book, Islam Observed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), is a study of how Islam is interpreted and practiced in Morocco and Indonesia in very different ways, but both in view of a religious tradition that is larger than either culture.
2. Hadīth are the recorded deeds and words of the prophet Muhammad.
3. This point and the need to research the religious lives of Muslim women have been brought out by Robert and Elizabeth Fernea in their article, "Variation in Religious Observance among Islamic Women," in Nikkie R. Keddie, ed., Scholars, Saints and Sufis (University of California Press, 1972).
4. I did take several trips to Luxor and its environs where, with the kind assistance of Elizabeth Wickett and Gamāl Zakī al-Dīn al-Ḥaggāgī, I was able to gain an impression of the religious life of women in a provincial town and in the villages.

5. Al-Azhar University was founded as a mosque in 972 A.D., but from the thirteenth century on it emerged as a major center of Islamic learning. It evolved into a university in Ottoman times. It remains the center of higher Islamic religious education for Egypt, and has an influence that goes beyond Egypt.
6. The gam'īyyāt are nonetheless subjected to government supervision, and become legal through registration in the Ministry of Social Affairs, which also funds many of their activities.
7. See, for example, John Alden Williams, "A Return to the Veil in Egypt," Middle East Review (1979) XI (3): 49-54; Robert and Elizabeth Fernea, "A Look Behind the Veil," Human Nature (1979) 2 (1): 68-77; Fadwa El-Guindi, "Veiling Infitah With Muslim Ethic: Egypt's Contemporary Islamic Movement," Social Problems (April, 1981) 28 (4): 465-485.
8. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Ḥasan al-Gamal, member of the People's Assembly and authorized representative of Gam'īyyat al-Muḥāfaẓa 'Alā 'l-Qur'ān al-Karīm, in providing contacts and interviews for my research.
9. Dhikr in Arabic means "remembrance": the Qur'ānic injunction to "remember" God and to call upon Him by means of His 99 Most Beautiful Names evolved into rituals of dhikr which often include music, body movements and trance, elements often considered un-Islamic by non-Sufis.

GREEK POTTERY IN EGYPT

In 1980 I received a grant from the American Research Center in order to facilitate my study of Greek pottery in Egyptian Museums and collections for my dissertation on Mainland Greek Painted Pottery in Egypt, 650-450 B.C. Dr. Dia abu Ghazi, Director General of Egyptian Museums, and Mr. Abd al-Mu'izz, Director of Regional Museums, extended their permission for me to record, photograph, and draw any Greek pottery I might find in museums of Alexandria, Cairo, Zagazig, Ismailiya, Karainis, Mallawy, Luxor, and Aswan and Ahmed el-Saroughi, Chief Inspector of Mansoura and Damietta and Abd el Halim Risq, Chief Inspector of the Eastern Delta, were particularly hospitable, allowing me to view material in the Mansoura inspectorate, even uncrating the objects from the recent excavations at Bel Amoun, and introducing me to the Chief Inspector of Tanta who permitted the levering open of crates from the Sais expedition.

Although I visited all the museums enumerated above, most of my work, predictably, took place in Alexandria and Cairo and the greatest part of that in Alexandria where Youssef el-Gheriani, Director of the museum, and his most helpful staff patiently acceded to my seemingly irrational whims. Thanks to their professionalism I was able to work six days a week for a full four hours a day. In Alexandria I was also fortunate enough to meet Dr. Daoud abu Daoud, professor at the University of Alexandria and Secretary and moving force behind the Archaeological Society of Alexandria who not only graciously permitted me to record the vases in the collection of the Society but also, giving unselfishly of his valuable time and great knowledge, provided many insights into the recent history of Alexandria including the antiquities trade.

In Cairo Mr. Muhammed Mohsen, Director of the Cairo Museum, did everything in his power to make my

visit there a bit easier. An unexpected pleasure was finding a few Greek sherds at the Agricultural Museum in Dokki (thanks to the quick eye of Martha Bell) and meeting Mr. Kamal el Din Abou Hussein, the Director General of the Museum who located obscure sites in the Eastern Delta for me.

I have now finished my work in Egypt and am busy writing my dissertation in New York.

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1980-81

Marjorie Venit

SURVEY RESEARCH FOR THE HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERARY THEORY

The nature of my research in Cairo does not readily lend itself to a coherent presentation, since a survey-type study of manuscripts as envisaged in my proposal and carried out accordingly normally leads to a host of unrelated minor results of a preliminary character. Obviously, this is not the place to go into all the minutiae. My main objective was to evaluate the works preserved in the manuscripts in order to determine whether or not they would warrant inclusion in one of the two ongoing projects mentioned in my proposal, viz. (1) the history of Arabic literary theory and (2) the life and works of the Hanbalite scholar Najm al-Dīn al-Tūfī (d. 716/1316). The best I can do under the circumstances is to highlight the most important works I found and to explain their importance. The other works listed in my proposal will, however, receive short mention. I should like to prefix a few words on the working conditions at the institutions I visited.

External working conditions

For most of my research I had to rely on the Egyptian National Library, Dār al-Kutub. The bureaucratic obstacles were minimal. Equipped with a letter of recommendation from the American Research Center and the inevitable set of photographs I received my reading card in a matter of minutes. It was valid only for two months, not for three as I had asked, but revalidating it on the date of expiration took no longer than two seconds. Using the manuscript reading room involved (a) giving up your reading card to an attendant, (b) writing your name and further personal information into an attendance book, (c) filling in a slip for each manuscript desired, and (d) handing it to another attendant who would then have it brought to you, usually within minutes. In addition to the printed catalogues which are incomplete, a "unified catalogue" (fihris muwaḥḥad),

type-written and comprising about a dozen volumes, was available for consultation; it contained a complete listing of the Arabic manuscript treasures of Dār al-Kutub, arranged alphabetically according to the titles of the works. Thus, locating the call-number of a particular manuscript was normally easy enough to do. However, there were no copies of the standard reference works like Kaḥḥala, Ziriklī, Brockelmann, Sezgin, and the Encyclopædia of Islam in the reading room. (For these I would normally go to the library of the American University.) The reading room itself was pleasantly spacious and uncrowded with large tables to work at. However, since Dār al-Kutub is now housed in a new concrete building on the Cornich in Bu-laḡ with its bumper-to-bumper traffic and (at least) the fourth floor where the reading room was located was more or less open to the outside, the manuscript users were somewhat molested by heat, dust, and noise. On especially hot days a servant would pour an unsolicited glass of water to everyone present to make up for the lack of cooling devices. All in all, I found little to complain, and my work there was both pleasant and fruitful.

I was much less successful in the Baladīya Library in Alexandria. Two manuscripts in my list were supposed to be preserved there (one, however, with a question-mark); so I set a few days in August aside for a visit to Alexandria. Upon presenting my credentials, the people in the Library were mildly friendly and tried to appear helpful, but they were really not interested in my problems and, to my feeling, incompetent, as well. At any rate, all they did was to check their card catalogue in a very superficial way and to tell me that the manuscripts I wanted to see did not exist in their library. Which may very well be true, but I have my doubts.

Important manuscripts for the history of classical Arabic literary theory

Among the manuscripts I inspected the most interesting ones for my purpose turned out to be the following four (in chronological order):

- Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr: K. Ikhtiyār al-manthūr wa-l-manzūm, parts 12 and 13.
- Abū Sahl al-Zawzanī: Qaṣhr al-Faṣr.
- al-Zanjānī: Mi'yār al-nuẓẓar fī 'ulūm al-ash'ār.
- Abū Bakr al-Zamzamī: Tanbīh dhawī l-himan 'alā ma'ākhidh Abī l-Ṭayyib min al-shi'r wa-l-ḥikam.

Three of them appear on the list in my proposal, al-Zanjānī's work is one of the additional manuscripts which I investigated, after I had finished the original list. Here now are short characterizations of these works.

- (a) Ibn Abī Tāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893): K. Ikhtiyār al-manthūr wa-l-manzūm.

Of this anthological work only parts 11, 12, and 13 have been preserved in various manuscripts (see GAS I, 349). The Cairo manuscript (adab 581) contains all three parts; it is a copy made from an original of unknown description preserved at Medina and it was commissioned by the famous reviver of classical-style Arabic poetry, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Barūdī (1839-1904), in the year 1297 h (started December 15, 1879), as mentioned on the title-page of the manuscript. Part 11 contains eloquent pieces of prose and poetry done by women and has twice appeared in print as Balāghāt al-nisā'. Part 13 consists of a topically arranged handbook of epistolography, which seems to be valuable text in itself, but of little relevance for my purposes. Things are different with part 12 the purpose of which is stated at the beginning as to present a collection of qaṣīdas (long poems), risālas (missives), and ṣifas (descriptions) "the likes of which do not exist". Apart from the intrinsic value of this anthology of avowedly unique pieces of literature, the author has enhanced the importance of this part by adding some historical information and methodological remarks on the art of compiling anthologies. Inasmuch as the historical notes concern the early history of the Mu'allaqāt collection, they have been made the subject of an article (on the basis of the British Museum ms.) by M.J. Kister: "The Seven Odes - Some Notes on the Compilation of the Mu'allaqāt," in: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 44 (1969), pp. 27-36. This article does not, however, exhaust the historical information contained in part 12. As for the method followed by the author, he mentions that al-Mufaddal al-Dabbi (d. 164/780 or later) has already produced an anthology of unique qaṣīdas, as far as their quality and purity of language are concerned, (i.e., the famous al-Mufaddalīyāt); however, they share their topics (ma'ānī) with many other poems. The intention of the author is to collect poems which are unique in their subject-matter. And, in fact, the poems selected by the author do contain some unusual themes, like the description of a fox, a dirge on a shirt (sic), a satire on a tax-collector. It is also worth mentioning that this section contains the Lamīya of al-Shanfarā, which would be a rather early attestation of this poem of highly disputed authenticity. Ibn

Abi Tāhir does not, however, restrict himself to poetry, rather he divides part 12 into four chapters devoted to shī'r (poetry), abyāt mufrada (single lines of poetry), rasā'il (missives, epistles), and fuṣūl muntakhaba (selected cola) respectively. From the balanced structure of this chapter-division we can deduce that the term fuṣūl, often translated "aphorisms", is really the prose equivalent of the abyāt ("lines of poetry"), therefore; "cola".

- (b) Abū Sahl al-Zawzanī: Qashr al-Fasr. (ca. middle of 11th century)

The author is wrongly identified in GAS II, 492 as Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Zawzanī (d. 370/980). His name appears on the title-page of the Cairo ms. (adab Tal'at 4480) as al-Shaykh al-'Amīd Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zawzanī al-'Arid, and at the beginning of the text as al-Shaykh al-'Amīd Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This man is most probably identical with al-'Amīd Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, mentioned by al-Bākhārī: Dumyat al-qashr, p. 277 ed. al-Ṭabbākh = p. 1391 ed. al-Tūnjī. Unfortunately, no dates and no other biographical details are given there. However, since the author mentions that the Diwan of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965) was transmitted to him by only two intermediaries (and in the case of the 'Amīdīyāt by one only), we can safely place him in the first half of the 11th century A.D. His work is a detailed critique of Ibn Jinnī's (d. 392/1002) commentary on the Diwan of al-Mutanabbī entitled Fasr shī'r al-Mutanabbī, "The Explication of the Poetry of al-Mutanabbī". The title he chose for his critique is based on a tajnīs muṣaḥḥaf, i.e. the words qashr and fasr look alike in Arabic writing except for the diacritics, and the meaning of this somewhat contrived title would be "The Peeling of 'The Explication'". "Peeling" would probably mean "removing unwanted parts", but it has also a figurative sense, viz. "finding fault with". In fact, the author mentions in his introduction that he found Ibn Jinnī's commentary to be the best among those he had seen, but that it nevertheless contained strange mistakes and oversights which he used to expound to his friends; those friends then pestered him to collect these criticisms into a book, until he gave in. The introduction is a highly interesting document on the early fame of al-Mutanabbī and the various literary activities his poetry triggered off. He observes that some people transmit and know the poetry of al-Mutanabbī zāhiran "outwardly", i.e., without real understanding, while others transmit it bi-ma'ānīhi wa-aghrādihi "with its meanings and intentions", and he enumerates four other commentaries none of which is re-

corded in GAS (!) which most likely means that they are otherwise unknown. Most of the names occurring in this introduction I have so far been unable to identify. A very intriguing text!

(c) al-Zanjānī (wrote in 625/1257): Mi^cyār al-nuzzār fī 'ulūm al-ash^cār.

The interest of this text - the title of which could be translated as "The Criterium for Students of the Disciplines Concerned with Poems" - lies in its being a confluence of various approaches to literary theory which already existed, albeit unconnected, in the earlier literature. The author starts with an enumeration of the twelve disciplines dealing with language (al-'ulūm al-adabīya), viz. lexicography, morphology, etymology, syntax, stylistics, theory of imagery, prosody, rhyme theory, composition, versification, calligraphy, and the art of conversation. The same list with only slight variations can be found at the beginning of al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) book on prosody al-Qusṭās al-mustaqīm; the two lists are sufficiently similar to suggest that al-Zanjānī used al-Zamakhsharī or a source common to both. There is one interesting deviation in al-Zanjānī, viz. his remark that stylistics ('ilm al-ma^cānī) and the theory of imagery ('ilm al-bayān) really make up one discipline only, called 'ilm al-badī^c, "the 'science' of rhetorical embellishment" (this term, by the way, does not occur in al-Zamakhsharī's list, although already well-established at the time). In view of the generally accepted tripartite structure (ma^cānī-bayān-badī^c) of the later handbooks on rhetoric ('ilm al-balāgha) this use of the term badī^c as a comprehensive designation of artistic language is somewhat surprising. It shows that even at the very beginning of the ossification of rhetorical terminology the meanings of the terms were still fluctuating. Al-Zanjānī then goes on to assert that these twelve disciplines - at least most of them - are necessary for a correct understanding of the Word of God and the Traditions of the Prophet - a common justification of rhetorical studies, even when the focus is on poetry and literary prose. Seeing that all these disciplines, and especially prosody ('arūd), rhyme theory ('ilm al-qawāfī), and the theory of artistic language ('ilm al-badī^c), had almost faded away in his days, the author decided, as he tells us, to write a short comprehensive account of these three 'ulūm. The first two subjects, meter and rhyme, are of course very often treated together, but the addition of badī^c is quite an uncommon combination, although we

do have a precedent in the K. al-Kāfi fī l-'arūd wa-l-qawāfī by al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109). It should be noted, however, that with the Khaṭīb the chapter on badī^c is a simple enumeration of terms with definitions and examples, whereas al-Zanjānī sets out to develop a coherent theory of artistic language based on the notion of dalāla "reference", i.e. the referential power of words. Drawing on philosophical distinctions (which in itself marks a drastic change in the intellectual outlook of the theorists of poetry between al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī and al-Zanjānī), the author explains that words may mean a certain thing (a) by mutābaqa (congruity, "house" points to a house), or (b) by tadmīn (implication, "house" points to a roof), or (c) iltizām (concomitance, "roof" points to a wall). The typical way of referring to things would be mutābaqa in scientific speech, but iltizām in eloquent speech (balāgha). As the concomitants (lawāzim) are many, there are many ways of expressing the same idea. Consequently, there are degrees of perfection in expressiveness, according to the degree of appropriateness (tanāsub) and balance (i'tidāl) displayed by the expression (tarkīb) in question. This theory of dalāla can be found in similar terms in the Miftāḥ al-'ulūm of al-Zanjānī's slightly older contemporary (?) al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), but there are differences - one being that al-Sakkākī restricts the theory to an exposition of the term bayān "imagery" -, and the whole complex warrants further investigation. (Ms. Dār, adab m 136).

(d) Abū Bakr al-Zamzamī (wrote in 993/1585): Tanbīḥ dhawī l-himam 'alā ma'ākhidh Abī l-Ṭayyib min al-shi'r wa-l-hikam.

This work is preserved in an old copy (written 999/1590) from which two modern copies were taken in 1938 and 1945 (call numbers: adab 532, z 12630, and z 15825, respectively). As the title indicates, it is a collection of poetical ideas and motifs in the poetry of Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī that the poet is presumed to have taken from earlier poetry. The author evidently avoids the term sariqa (plagiarism) in the title of his book, because to his mind much unjust criticism has been heaped upon the poet in this matter, as he tells us in his introduction. The work is interesting on two accounts. First, it is an important example of the revival of Mutanabbi studies under the Sharifs of Mekka in the 16th century, especially under the long reign of

Abū Numayy II (reigned 931-974/1525-1566). Al-Zamzami dedicated his book to Abū Numayy's son, Thuqba, and he tells us at the beginning how he used to read the Diwan with his friends and to study the commentaries and glosses. While reading the secondary literature, al-Zamzami came across a large number of alleged plagiarisms of al-Mutanabbī and this inspired him to collect the scattered material into one book - with a view also, of justifying the poet. Here lies the second point of interest. Collections of plagiarisms (the term sariqa, although meaning "theft", is often used in a broad sense which includes "praiseworthy plagiarisms", too!) often yield important materials - pre-sorted, as it were - for the literary history of certain motifs and their treatment. To judge the completeness of the material collected by al-Zamzami, his sources have yet to be established. A spot-check revealed that he apparently did not use the earlier collection al-lbāna 'an sariqāt al-Mutanabbī by al-'Amīdī (d. 433/1042); on the other hand, he has additional material not found in the lbāna. His work, thus, still retains some value.

Negative Results and Eliminations

Two items had to be removed from the list in my proposal, because of wrong classification in my secondary sources:

(a) Abū 'Aṣṭda, Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. Nāṣih (d. 278/891): Uyūn al-akhbār wa-l-ash'ar (ms. taṣawwuf Ḥalīm 62) turned out to be a collection of hadith, sayings, admonitions, and anecdotes, topically arranged and with a focus on religious parenesis. Although the above form of the title is well-established in the bio-bibliographical literature from Ibn al-Nadīm onwards, in the book itself it is given as Uyūn al-akhbār only. In fact, it contains little poetry.

(b) Majd al-Din Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606/1210): K. al-Badī' (ms. 615) is not on ilm al-badī' (figures of speech), rather it is a commentary on the grammatical work al-Fuṣūl by Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd b. al-Mubārak Ibn al-Dahhān (d. 569/1174).

The K. al-Badī' of al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109) is not an independent work, but the last chapter of his K. al-Kāfī fi l-'arūd wa-l-qawāfī (mentioned above) which has already appeared in print.

Three of the works listed in my proposal have been edited in recent years, but these editions came to my attention only after I had submitted the proposal (one of them in Cairo); they are:

'Abd al-Karīm al-Nahshalī (d. 405/1014): Ikhtiyār min K. al-Mumtī'. Ed. Munjī al-Ka'bī. Tunis, 1398/1978. Bākathīr al-Ḥadramī, Wajīh al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh (wrote in 931/1524): Tanbīh al-adīb (al-gharīb, left out in ed.) 'alā mā fī l-shi'r Abī l-Tayyib min al-ḥasan wa-l-ma'īb. Ed. Rashīd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣāliḥ. Baghdad, 1396/1976.

Ibn Sīdah (d. 458/1066): Sharḥ al-mushkil min shi'r al-Mutanabbī. And: Mulḥaq Sharḥ etc. Edd. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā [and] Ḥamīd 'Abd al-Majīd. Cairo, 1976-80.

The first of these is based on the unique ms. in Cairo, the other two editions were able to avail themselves of a variety of mss. each. The editor of Bākathīr al-Ḥadramī overlooked the existence of ms. shi'r Taymūr 1184, which is slightly older than ms. adab 543 used by him. The editors of Ibn Sīdah's commentary did not use the Istanbul ms. Ṣehit Ali 2133, which is well-known (see GAS II, 494, 1. 2) and probably the oldest of them all.

Abū l-'Ala al-Ma'arrī's (d. 449/1057) commentary on the Diwan of al-Mutanabbī, entitled Mu'jiz Aḥmad or al-Lāmi' al-'Azīzī, was not very useful for my purposes, as it did not contain a theoretical introduction; it begins medias in res. However, apart from the photographs taken from the British Museum I found another ms., not mentioned in GAS, under ādāb q 25, written in all likelihood at the beginning of the 19th century and made a waqf in 1234 (started October 31, 1818) by Muḥammad 'Alī, Viceroy of Egypt.

Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭufī

As for the second project I wanted to pursue in Cairo, i.e. the collection of further material and - possibly - microfilms in connection with a study on the Hanbalite scholar al-Ṭufī (d. 616/1216), I am happy to be able to report some little successes. The strangest discovery was the fact that the ms. ḥadīth Taymūr 446 of his Sharḥ al-Arba'īn al-Nawawīya, starting at p. 138, 1. 2, radically differs from the other copy of the same work, ḥadīth Taymūr 328, which I already had in microfilm. It seems that the former is the genuine Ṭufī, so

I had a microfilm made from it (which, although a complicated procedure which forces the applicant to see about ten different people, could have been accomplished in one day, had it not been for the cashier who could not be found that day). This ms. also affords us new information on the life of al-Ṭūfī, as it is stated in the colophon that the work was written in Qūṣ (Upper Egypt) in the month of Rabīʿ al-ākhar 713 h (approximately August 1313). The other ms. I wanted to inspect was hadīth 487 containing his Mukhtaṣar al-Tirmidhī in two volumes. Since the title-page and the beginning of volume 1 as well as the last page(s) of volume 2 are missing, there are hardly any indications on the history of the work and the ms. However, the colophon of volume 1 states that the ms. was copied from the autograph. Because of the limited interest of the contents of this book - it is an epitome of the famous hadith-collection K. al-Jāmiʿ of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) - I did not think it worthwhile to spend money on a microfilm. In addition to these, I found another ms. of al-Ṣaʿqa al-ghaḍabīya fi l-radd ʿalā munkirī l-ʿarabīya, viz. naḥw Taymūr 515, which, however turned out to be a copy made from ms. majāmīʿ 228 (of which I have a microfilm) and commissioned by Aḥmad Taymūr in 1328 h (1910). I also copied the entries on al-Ṭūfī in two biographical dictionaries on the Ḥanbalites which have not yet appeared in print, viz.

Ibn Muflīḥ (d. 884/1479): al-Maqṣad al-arṣad fī tarājim aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad (ms. tārīkh 3981), p. 112, 11. 2-13, and
al-ʿUlaymī (d. 927/1521): al-Manhaj al-aḥmad fī tarājim aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad (ms. tārīkh Taymūr 838), Vol. 11, p. 500, l. 10- p. 503, l. 6.

The entry in the second dictionary is quite lengthy and substantial.

I feel that my three-month stay in Cairo has been very pleasant and fruitful, and I should like on this occasion to express my gratitude to the American Research Center in Egypt and its staff - both in the United States and in Cairo - as well as to the Smithsonian Institution as the sponsor for making this stay possible by awarding me a generous grant.

ARCE Fellow
1980

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EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND NIGERIA: FOREIGN RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA, 1960-1980

During the past year, I have been studying the relations of Nigeria with Egypt and Israel, with special attention to the economic, educational, and cultural aspects but within the context of diplomatic relations. The study encompasses the Nigerian independence period although I have taken into consideration relationships established after the regions of Nigeria became self-governing in 1954. My research began shortly after my arrival in Nigeria early in 1980 when I observed that Israeli companies were very active in southern Nigeria despite the absence of formal diplomatic ties. At the same time, I discovered a number of Egyptian teachers and doctors in Ilorin where I teach. Since Gamal Abd al-Nasir had played an active role in the OAU since OAU members had broken relations with Israel in 1973 in support of Egypt, it was clear that the Israel-Egypt conflict had influenced Nigeria's relations with the two countries in the past. What was not at all clear was how Nigeria's economic and cultural relations might or might not have been affected or conditioned by developments in foreign relations.

The goal of the present study, then, has been to begin comprehensive examination of Nigerian-Egyptian and Nigerian-Israeli relationships during the past twenty years and to isolate particular areas of interaction between Nigerians on the one hand and Israelis and Egyptians on the other. My research during the past year involved mainly library and newspaper surveys in Nigeria. In particular, I looked for news about Egypt, Israel, Egyptian-Nigerian exchanges, and Israeli companies, including advertisements. In presenting my preliminary conclusions on Israel and Nigeria in Ilorin last spring, I discovered that I needed to pay more attention to the religio-political aspects of Nigeria's foreign relations. Christians in Nigeria (mainly in the south) tended to sympathize with Israel while Nigerian Muslims (mainly in the north but also in the southwest) naturally favored Egypt. Since Ilorin is in the southwesternmost part of the southwest, the topic of Israeli-Nigerian ties was viewed by my colleagues as politically sensitive. In general, news and studies mentioning Israel were far more controversial than those treating Egypt.

Hypotheses

In late summer-early fall 1981, I was in Egypt under ARCE sponsorship taking a closer look at the Egyptian-Nigerian relationship over the years. The hypotheses which I had developed from examinations of books and articles on Arab-African relations, the Nigerian economy and politics, and the OAU as well as from interviews with Egyptians in Kwara State were the following:

1. Egyptians in Nigeria come as individuals employed by Nigerian state, federal, or river basin authorities or by individual Nigerians (Israelis come as employees of Israeli-based firms).
2. Egyptians would be predominantly Muslim and would concentrate in the Muslim north.
3. Egyptians would come to work in Nigeria because of comparatively attractive salaries.
4. Egyptians would be working in Nigeria, but there would be few Nigerians working in Egypt.
5. Nigerians would go to Egypt for study purposes, and mainly for Arabic and Islamic studies.
6. Egyptians in Nigeria would also be mainly in Arabic and Islamic studies despite the presence of doctors and engineers.
7. Egypt would be a special focus of Nigerian recruitment because of proximity, religious ties, and a perceived surplus of educated professionals.
8. The two countries were cognizant of long-standing historical ties but Nigerians would tend to regard them as having greater importance.
9. Despite having received little attention from scholars, Nigerian-Egyptian relations would be regarded by both countries as increasing in significance during the past twenty years.

Methodology

With a limited amount of time at my disposal, I decided to concentrate my work in areas unavailable to me in Ilorin. Since Ilorin is a dangerous four to five hour drive from

Lagos and telephone communication outside Ilorin is virtually impossible, much of my work was bound to involve extensive contact with Nigerians. My intention in Cairo was to engage in extensive interviewing and surveying of Arabic newspapers over the past twenty years. Upon my arrival in Cairo, I contacted both the Nigerian Embassy and the Nigerian Universities Office (one of three such offices outside Nigeria; the other two are in London and Washington, D.C.). As a Nigerian civil servant, I felt that they should be informed of my work immediately. I hoped to enlist their support in my research.

It was my assumption that the Nigerians in Cairo would have been keeping records on numbers of Egyptians going to Nigeria and Nigerians resident in Cairo, especially since the embassy handled recruitment for all Nigerian agencies and individuals other than universities. In the course of my research, I interviewed Ambassador Imam, Councillor or Embassy Muhammad, and Cultural and Public Affairs Officer Yeldu, the latter two more than once. The Director of the Nigerian Universities Office in Cairo, Mr. Ibrahim, and the Assistant Director, Mr. Osman, were extremely cooperative and helpful. I also met with the Administrative Director of the Nigerian Universities Commission, Mr. Yusuf. On the Egyptian side, I made several visits to the African Studies and Research Institute of Cairo University and the American University in Cairo. The West Africa desk officer of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also receptive and helpful. I had hoped to visit the offices of El Nasr Export Company since their office in Lagos was reopened recently, but I ran out of time. I had also expected to spend a good deal of time at Al-Azhar and with Nigerians studying there, but my stay in Egypt coincided with Ramadan and the hajj. Because of this obstacle, I have decided to return to Egypt for another month and a half beginning in mid-March in hopes of contacting people while schools are in session.

In regard to library work, I spent a substantial amount of time in Dar al-Kutub and the American University in Cairo library, mainly reading old issues of Al-Ahram. Using the Al-Ahram indices as a guide, I was able to locate and read some fifty newspaper articles dealing with Nigeria or with Nigerian-Egyptian interactions. Besides being interested in the news items themselves, I wanted to see if they would reveal particular attitudes toward Nigeria and relations with Nigeria. Another area of interest was recruiting advertisements.

Results and Conclusions

In general, Nigerians and Egyptians whom I encountered in Cairo were very helpful, especially considering the contemporary nature of my topic. I could not obtain precise figures for numbers of Egyptians working in Nigeria or of Nigerians in Egypt, but estimates for the former were in the range of 6000+ while for the latter, they varied between three hundred and six hundred. The responsible officer in the Nigerian Embassy is currently trying to ascertain the number of Nigerian students in Egypt and has promised to make his final results available to me when he has completed his own study and submitted it to his ministry. He generously showed me the information which he has collected thus far on some two hundred and fifty students.

Nigerians in Egypt

As I had assumed, most Nigerians in Egypt, with the exception of embassy personnel, are students. The largest number are involved in Islamic or Arabic Studies at Al-Azhar, but medicine, agriculture, and engineering are also high on the list of major subjects. Degree-granting institutions enrolling Nigerians include the American University in Cairo, Cairo University, Tanta University, Zaqaziq University, Alexandria University, and Ain Shams University. Nigerians also pursue more specialized or non-degree courses in institutes, e.g., the Arab Maritime Transport Academy, the Civic Aviation Training Centre, the Textile Technology Institute, the International Language Institute (ILI), or the Division of Public Service at AUC. For visa purposes, all of these are viewed as students.

During my visits to the Nigerian Embassy, I also encountered Nigerians who had come to Egypt as traders but who wanted to change their status to that of student. Although the embassy has no precise idea about the number of Nigerian traders in Egypt, they indicated that shoes and handbags were popular items bought in Cairo and taken back to Nigeria. The pressure for entry into Nigerian universities is such that it is not surprising that Nigerians engaged in trading would want to gain entrance into an Egyptian university. Talking with the Director of Admissions at the AUC, I learned that Nigerians account for a large percentage of foreign student applicants but few are admitted. Nigerians at AUC include children and spouses of Nigerian Embassy and Nigerian Universities Office staff members. Between Egyptian and Nigerian authorities, there appeared to be a difference of opinion about the number of government-sponsored students. This is not surprising considering the sensitivity of the funding question in Nigeria because of well-publicized delays in scholarship payments by Nigerian state and federal authorities.

Although I did not expect to find Nigerians being employed by Egyptians, I learned that one of the local football clubs had sought to engage the services of two Nigerian stars. The sports connections between Egypt and Nigeria over the years might be worthy of a follow-up.

Egyptians in Nigeria: Recruitment and Placement

First of all, Egypt is one of the countries in which professionals are most intensively recruited for employment in Nigeria. The primary focus is on hiring teachers, doctors, and engineers. Nearly every week, Nigerian recruiting panels are in Cairo interviewing prospective employees. Such efforts began a number of years ago, as indicated in various newspaper articles, but they have grown in volume and intensity during the past three years.

Why Egyptians? One major reason for which Nigeria seeks to employ Egyptians is that Egypt is viewed as a huge reservoir of professional expertise. Egyptians are regarded as African brothers and sisters who share a cultural heritage with much of Nigeria. Egypt has also functioned as a voice for decolonization in Africa over the years, and issue of concern to Nigerians. It is well known that Egyptians are eager to work outside the country. Egyptians and Nigerians alike agreed that Egyptian professionals are often better treated in Nigeria than in wealthy Arab countries like Libya and Saudi Arabia, despite the lower salaries in Nigeria. Most importantly, perhaps, the Egyptian government encourages and facilitates the employment of Egyptians in Nigeria, with both countries seeking to expand and strengthen their relationship. Egyptian universities permit individual faculty members to go abroad for three to four years at a time. Nigerians make sure that individuals have obtained permission from their home institutions since not more than twenty-five percent of any university department may be absent at any one time. The Egyptian Foreign Ministry acts as a facilitator when called upon by the Nigerian Embassy or by Egyptian universities. It judiciously avoids actions which might be perceived by the Nigerians as interference in the hiring process. Egypt wants to encourage the Nigerians to continue recruitment of Egyptian professionals.

The application procedures which have developed over the years begin with the requests received by the Nigerian

Embassy in Cairo from prospective employers in Nigeria. Advertisements are placed in Egyptian newspapers, usually in English but occasionally in Arabic. Nigerians request applicants to submit copies of certificates; transcripts of records are not accepted. Applicants may complete either a standard or specialized application at the embassy. Personal details (age, nationality, marital status), schools and colleges attended (beginning with primary school), degrees, employment record, and recommendations are solicited. Credentials are then reviewed and forwarded to hiring boards in Nigeria. They select candidates to be interviewed in Egypt. For example, doctors must be approved by the Nigerian Medical Association and other applicants for positions must demonstrate that they are qualified. Once the short lists have been decided upon, applicants are notified and interviews are scheduled. The interviewing panel spends four or five days in Cairo. Often, the panel does not turn up as scheduled and interviews are postponed. Eventually, though, panels arrive in Cairo, complete their work, and return home. Then, a decision is made on appointments. Offers are sent to the candidates. If a university has used the services of the Nigerian Universities Office, acceptances may be sent through the office. Otherwise, the Nigerian Embassy handles such correspondence.

In general, Egyptians often apply for several jobs in Nigeria. Panels are not too concerned about the applicants' level of English even if the prospective employer is a university. It is assumed that lecturers will improve after arriving in Nigeria. Occasionally, applicants are found unemployable by panels because of lacking the expected qualifications, but a bright, less experienced person may be hired anyway. A candidate found unappointable by one panel might still receive an offer from another. Nigerian officials in Cairo keep records of offers made but not of acceptances. It was also not possible to know how many Egyptians go to Nigeria, quit, and then reapply for another position elsewhere in Nigeria. Not all Egyptians who apply accept the offers made, usually because the offer arrived too late or because they accepted a job in Saudi Arabia or the Gulf.

Taking a closer look at Egyptians employed in Nigerian universities, I was able to make some tentative conclusions based on a general survey of those hired by Nigerians since the Nigerian Universities Office opened in Cairo in January 1979. This would exclude Egyptians hired earlier or through other offices or as individuals. About two-thirds of the

Egyptians were employed in universities while the other third were teaching in polytechnics or teachers' colleges. Although I had expected to find them concentrated in the lower ranks, over half of them were at the most senior levels of Professor, Reader, and Senior Lecturer. My hypothesis relating to Arabic and Islamic studies proved invalid, at least in regard to university-level teaching. Over two-thirds of the Egyptians were in scientific fields; about half of these were in medicine. Only one-sixth of the lecturers were in Arabic or Islamic studies. In the teacher training colleges and polytechnics, the preponderance of science teachers over arts and social science teachers remained, but teachers of Arabic and Islamic subjects comprised two-thirds of the non-science teachers.

Looking at the non-university teachers, based on a small sample of those employed by Kaduna state government, I concluded that it is at the lower educational levels that Egyptians come to Nigeria primarily as teachers of Arabic and Islamic subjects. Applicants tended to be offered appointments at grades 8-10 on the civil service scale. Grade 8 is the starting level for Nigerian university graduates, but most of the Egyptians had completed their B.A.s at least eight years ago and were being offered grade levels 8 and 9. Offers appeared to be based on a combination of age and experience, but there were notable exceptions. It should be stressed that because Nigerians do not require B.A. degrees for teaching below the university level, intermediate pay levels for primary and secondary teachers are maintained. But a B.A. recipient who immediately entered university teaching would probably have reached grade level 13 after eight years, particularly with publications. However, salaries at grades 8-10 would tend to appear attractive to Egyptians employed for lower pay at home.

One object of my research was to have the chance to meet some of the interviewing panels in Cairo. Their schedules, however, and the uncertainties regarded their travel, prevented arranging for any appointments during my stay.

With the information obtained in Cairo, I am now preparing a questionnaire to send to Egyptians working in Nigerian universities and to other Egyptian employees. I hope to learn more about length of stay, promotions, and job satisfaction, especially since many of the Egyptians whom I met at the Nigerian Embassy had decided to apply because of contact with others employed in Nigeria. Although I can easily survey all of the Egyptians in Kwara State,

whether or not they are connected with educational institutions, it will be much more difficult to contact those working elsewhere. I am hoping to be able to travel in the north as a follow-up to the questionnaire. As I had expected, Egyptian teachers tend to be working in the predominantly Muslim part of the country.

Thus far, I have focused on the Egyptian-Nigerian relationship because that is the part of the study on which I devoted most of my time this summer. However, I did bring up the topic of Nigerian-Israeli relations with both Nigerian and Egyptian authorities. I also tried to contact Israeli officials in Cairo and made a brief visit to Israel in conjunction with my research. What I learned was that neither the Nigerian nor the Israeli officials were enthusiastic about the idea of an American studying their relationship. The present fragile status of Egyptian-Israeli relations also made this a sensitive topic with Egyptians. I am still hoping to pursue the Israeli-Nigerian connection in the context of this project, but I recognize the limitations of governmental sources.

In general, my experience this summer demonstrated that relationships between individual Middle Eastern and African countries are significant and worthy of exploration, regardless of the historical period involved. My own study has evolved as a contemporary investigation mainly because of the sources most readily available. I am still hoping to deal more fully with the entire twenty-year period but realize that it will take far longer than I had originally anticipated. I recognize that these investigations treat only a small segment of the populations of Africa's most populous countries. The ties which they are establishing however, have a far greater impact than their numbers might suggest, especially in Nigeria where the school-age population is expanding by leaps and bounds. It is my hope that the present study will encourage other Egyptian historians to look to the south. I am grateful to the American Research Center in Egypt and to the USICA for having funded my research.

ARCE Fellow
1980-81

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AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION AND MALE-FEMALE POWER RELATIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN DELTA

Purpose of the Study

The research project described in this report is a comparative study, the primary purpose of which is to analyze the impact of agrarian transformation on certain dimensions of male-female relations (e.g. sexual division of labour, property relations, and power relations).

In 1974/75 I had worked in a village to which I gave the pseudonym FatiHa (population 3,200) in the province of Kafr il Shikh. In FatiHa there existed a marked sexual asymmetry in the distribution of productive resources, which are controlled by men and which are only sporadically available to women. For this village, I hypothesized that men's power derives from their control over goods and services that have exchange value while women, who have limited access to such control, are subservient to male authority. This 1980/81 research project (the subject of this report) was designed to test the validity of this hypothesis through replication of the 1974 study in a region adjacent to the village of FatiHa, where male out migration has increased in recent years and where cash cropping of flowers and other aromatic plants for export has drawn a large number of women into the wage labour arena. In the investigation of various manifestations of male-female power differentials (relative control over culturally significant power bases e.g. productive resources such as land and animals, formal education, supernatural contact, etc...) the research included the study of a stress-related, culturally specific affliction known as ʿuzr (a local variant of spirit possession) which my earlier investigations in the study area had identified as a significant index of relative powerlessness.

Research Locale

In September of 1980 I first settled in a village which I had marked long before arriving in Egypt. My selection of

this village was based on information which I had gathered in 1974/75. I knew it to be a center for the cultivation of jasmine, where women and children are employed as wage labourers to harvest the flowers. But as I went out to the fields in the early mornings, I found very few people gathering jasmine. My assumption that women were probably involved in the more profitable gathering of cotton during this season was confirmed by a number of informants. But as I spent more time in the village, I heard complaints of labour shortage from wealthier peasants who cultivate jasmine. When I asked about the many women whom I had seen harvesting the flowers five years earlier, they simply remarked that they have now become ladies. It turns out that indeed many of the women who had once worked as wage labourers now confine their work to the household or to family owned or rented land as well as sharecropping as a result of increased migration and employment of village men. Also, labour shortage and reduced demand for jasmine by the processing plants in the region had forced many cultivators to dig out their jasmine bushes. I moved to another village which better fitted the objectives of my study.

I settled in a village for which I have chosen the pseudonym Bahiya. This village is located in the Nile Delta, approximately 28 Km North of Tanta and nearly 30 Km West of the industrial center of MiHala. Bahiya's current population is estimate at 8,000. The village is under the administrative jurisdiction of markaz Qutur, famous as a major center for the cultivation and partial processing of jasmine.

The Comparative Framework of the Study

As I started work in the village of Bahiya, it became clear that my study would not simply be a replication of the 1974 project, with the exception of the outstanding variables, "wage labour" and "export agriculture". While the village of Bahiya provides the opportunity to study female villagers as wage labourers, it also offers a number features which contrast with the village of FatiHa. These include increased commercial crop production, larger land holdings, a more differentiated peasantry, increased involvement of capital in agricultural production, and increased individual, as opposed to state responsibility for marketing in relation to commercial crop production. In short, the villages of FatiHa and Bahiya are different in a number of ways. Although the rural producers in both communities secure livelihood through the use of family

labour, on family land, it is evident that for the second study community, relations of commodity production and exchange involving the international capitalist economy are more pronounced. In my study of FatiHa I had noted the production of commodities which are sold within capitalist spheres of circulation. The same holds true for the village of Bahiya. But in the case of the latter, the extent of commoditisation is more pronounced, indeed labour power as a commodity is a more significant source of livelihood.

Given the character of the study community, I have integrated the analysis of women's increased involvement in wage labour (and significant related variables, e.g. the sexual division of labour, income generation, family structure, and male-female power relations) with the broader analysis of agrarian change. In dealing with the consequences of the agrarian transformation to capitalism on gender roles I have concentrated on the replication of my earlier investigation of the system of material production based on the peasant family as the primary framework of production relations. My emphasis therefore has been on differentiated peasants' household composition and family structure and on the labour process.

Types of Data Collected

In the village of Bahiya a variety of ethnographic data were collected through participant observations and interviews. Primary consideration was extended to the system of production. The village of Bahiya differs from FatiHa in the cultivation of certain crops which are not subject to state control. These are aromatic plants, fruits and vegetables. 19.2% of the total cultivated area of the village is devoted to commercial agriculture. Of a total of 1895 feddans, 115 are planted with jasmine and other aromatic plants, 31 feddans are allocated to orange groves, 18 feddans have apple trees, 3 feddans are devoted to mangos and 180 feddans are used for planting potatoes.

The study of the system of agriculture production in the village included gathering data on the history of aromatic plant cultivation in the region, forms of village land tenure, distribution of land holdings, distribution of commercial crops on village land, the role of the state controlled agricultural cooperative, the taxation of agricultural products, differential profitability of agricultural products, and the impact of the state operated village bank on production.

Concern with agriculture production highlighted the problems of seasonal labour shortage. This shortage is due in part to temporary migration of village men to the PPC of the Arab world. In addition to migration of villagers to the urban centers of Egypt, the problem of labour shortage is aggravated by mass government employment of young army draftees following their discharge. Data gathered in Bahiya illuminate the impact of out migration on family structure and authority patterns. These are related to the differential incidence of Suzr observed in Bahiya as contrasted with FatiHa.

Throughout the study period particular attention was devoted to different aspects of gender differentiation. Data pertaining to this theme includes early age socialization, division of labour by sex within the household and in relation to agricultural production, wage differences, male-female authority patterns in differentiated peasant households, and male-female health status differences in relation to the illness of Suzr (utilized as an index of relative powerlessness). In view of the theoretical orientation which guided the research in Bahiya, namely that male-female power relations are rooted in material conditions of production, I utilized the developmental cycle of the family as a framework for the study of the sexual division of labour, gender role differentiation, and social relations of production. This focus on the developmental cycle of the family illuminated the dynamics of male-female power relations, beyond role expectations.

Conclusion

Recent studies of agricultural modernization, or more specifically the development of agriculture under capitalist domination, have challenged the assumption that the demise of pre-capitalist forms of production, or the subordination of these forms to the requirements of capitalism, is necessarily advantageous to women. In short, such studies have been useful in dispelling assertions that integration into the capitalist global economy encourages women to be as fully productive as men. However, the literature on Women in Development continues to be characterized by a tendency to idealize women's condition in pre-capitalist societies in light of only limited analysis of women's activities in such societies and among the many contemporary peasant groups of the Third World currently experiencing changes along different paths of rural transformation. One cannot simply assume a necessarily adverse impact of capitalist development on women. It is one thing to note

the negative impact of the subordination to capitalist development of societies in which social relations of production are regulated by egalitarian principles, it is another to consider women's incorporation into the capitalist wage labour arena in societies formerly characterized by feudal relations of production and almost unlimited exploitation of women's labour.

The study described in this report provides an examination of the character and impact of a historically specific path (among variable paths) of rural transformation. Generalization about the character of this transformation, and its impact on male-female relations must await complete data analysis. Meanwhile, it may be concluded that:

1. The investigation of agricultural transformation in the study area indicates that it has not followed a unilinear path of change from non-capitalist to capitalist relations of production based on wage labour. Sharecropping arrangements for exploitation of relatively large areas of land, once widespread in the study area, declined during the 1950's and 60's. During the latter decade cultivation of jasmine proceeded according to capitalist relations of production based on wage labour. In recent years, increased out migration and changes in the international market demands for local aromatic plants has affected cultivation patterns in the region. Rich peasants are increasingly resorting to exploitation of their relatively large landholding through sharecropping arrangements. Moreover, in some cases, one may foresee the dissolution of capitalist landholdings-in-formation. As educated descendants of rich peasants leave the rural areas, land fragmented through inheritance may be either sold or parcelled out for sharecropping or cash rent.
2. Proletarianization in the study community is of a specific character which is an affront to the polar dichotomy land consolidation-proletarianization. The designation "landless" peasant is highly variable seasonally for any given peasant. "Landless" peasants strive to have access to land constantly. Such access may be realized in the form of sharecropping arrangements of short duration or through informal (also illegal) short term land leases at exuberant prices.

While "landless" peasants, during certain periods, gain their income as wage labourers, poor peasants' household labour force is also semi-proletarianized, supplementing income with wage labour. Thus, in addition to "landless" peasants whose total income is derived from wage labour,

owners of tiny plots of less than 1 feddan (the poor peasants) derive part of their income from wage labour. They are not proletarians in the full sense of the word since they have certain control of the means of production and the production process. Among these poor peasants, family labour, including women's non-capitalist production subsidizes the wages of the semi-proletarian villagers. In fact, these poor peasants' involvement in subsistence production may be regarded as a means of reproduction of their labour power.

3. In the study area, the comparative profitability of certain agricultural products (notably aromatic plants which are produced for the international market as well as fruits and vegetables for local markets) has been an important mechanism of differentiation of the peasantry. In addition to freedom to dispose of their products as they wish, and enjoying the full profitability of production, cultivators of such agricultural products are taxed only nominally. National estimates place these exemptions in the order of millions of pounds annually. Since it is a certain stratum of the peasantry which is capable of enjoying this type of cultivation, and by extension, such tax exemptions, one then notes the state's role in accelerating the differentiation of the peasantry.
4. Large scale aromatic plant cultivation is an option for those who can forego the products of their land for at least two harvest seasons. Although poor peasants, under conditions of seasonal labour shortage, through self-exploitation of family labour, are well suited to maintain the daily harvest of jasmine, they cannot devote their entire small areas of land to aromatic plants (or other commercial crop) cultivation. They cannot survive without income from land for the more than one harvest season required for maturation of aromatic plants. More importantly, they cannot give up the subsistence crops such as wheat, rice, and corn. Nor can they give up cultivation of feed for their animals.
5. Under sharecropping arrangements, the labour power of the whole family is exploited by the landlord. Although contractual relations and the specification of conditions of surplus appropriation are arranged by men, the poor tenant in fact also commits the labour of his family to cultivation. In such cases, as in the case of cultivation of private land by the peasant family, women's and children's contributions are undermined and described as supplementary. This is in contrast to cultivation in return for a fixed wage where women's and children's contributions are evident and their monetary value noted.

6. In the study area both men and women work as wage labourers, as do young children. At times of heavy agricultural work, as during the planting of rice, the harvesting of cotton, wheat, and rice, women may receive equal pay as men. In fact during the cotton picking season even a child gets the same pay as an adult.
7. In comparison to the wages paid for the harvesting of traditional crops, the women and children who pick jasmine are paid very low wages. It is indeed a wonder why people continue to work at these low wages to pick jasmine. Evidently women and children engage in the harvesting of jasmine on the land of rich peasants as a means of guaranteeing regular employment by these rich peasants for the adult males of their households during the slack agricultural season of the winter months. Additionally, harvesting of jasmine by women and children is often a form of repayment of loans (and other favours) from rich peasants to these workers' kinsmen.
8. Regarding the impact of recent agricultural transformations on women's workloads, interviews with older informants indicate that women's workloads have declined dramatically in recent years. Increased mechanization, particularly in relation to irrigation and crop processing, has saved women much time and effort. Women acknowledge the labour and time saving effect of combines and water pumps. These save them from the backbreaking work of manual threshing and driving the draft animals which turn the water wheels.
9. Women's integration in capitalist production as wage labourers has also meant that the virtually unlimited labour service offered to landlords' households has declined. While some female wage labourers continue to be exploited by landlords' families, beyond their roles in agricultural production (e.g. in helping out in baking, cleaning, purchasing necessities from nearby markets, etc.) this occurs to a much more limited extent than was the case formerly, or even currently for sharecroppers kinswomen.
10. Finally, in contrast to my earlier study of FatiHa in 1974/75, the present study in Bahiya has highlighted the heterogeneity of the peasantry. Indeed it is evident that variable access to the means of production among the differentiated peasantry of the study community has a direct relation to household composition and family structure, forms of income generation, the sexual division of labour, social relations of production, and male-female power relations (reflected in the differential incidence of the illness of uzr). For example, among landless villagers and poor peasants the nuclear family structure

seems to be predominant. In this type of family a woman with young children is independent of the control of her mother-in-law and older affines who are part of the extended family. By contrast, access to relatively larger areas of land among rich peasants ties young men to the extended family household where they bring in their wives who are in turn subject to the directions and control of older females and males of the household.

Among poor peasant families whose men sell their labour power, women's participation in agricultural production on family cultivated land, and their responsibility for such production increases. Among these poor peasants (including those who migrate to the PPC countries of the Arab World), in contrast to middle and rich peasants, women take on major responsibilities for agricultural production. These poor peasant women have a greater degree of independence and decision making powers as they are burdened with obligations previously shouldered by males of their families. Among these many obligations is the time consuming and unpleasant charge of dealing with the state bureaucracy. In some cases, men who are heavily involved in wage labour, or who migrate temporarily, register land in the names of their wives. So as poor peasant men become increasingly involved in wage labour or pursue employment away from the village, a greater portion of use value production becomes the responsibility of the poor peasant women. But in spite of these women's obvious contributions to the generation of household income, the male is considered the bread winner. When both male and female are wage labourers, the woman's contribution to family income is more readily recognized, given its obvious remuneration. In terms of the community at large landless male and female wage labourers are the least prestigious, but among themselves, more egalitarian.

1980-81
ARCE Fellow

Soheir A. Morsy
East Lansing, Michigan

NEWS OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The Sudan Studies Association was established in Spring, 1981 to bring together scholars and others interested in the Sudan and to promote knowledge about the Sudan. It will hold its first annual meeting on Friday-Saturday, March 26-27, 1982 at Morgan State University in Baltimore.

For information about membership, contact Dr. Constance Berkley, Black Studies Institute, SSA Secretariat, Room 414, Fordham University, CLC, New York, NY 10023. For information about papers and panels at the annual meeting contact Dr. Ahmed E. El Bashir, History Department, University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C. 20008. For other details about the annual meeting, contact Dr. James Hudson, Department of Geography, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD 21239.

COLLOQUIUM ON ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CERAMICS II

Non-Typological Approaches to Ceramic Material

Boston, April 29-May 1 1982

A detailed program will be provided in the near future. An invitation is extended to all scholars engaged in the study of archaeological ceramics and is not strictly limited to the Ancient Near East.

The colloquium will coincide with the exhibition "Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom" at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, February 3 to May 2, 1982.

Anyone interested in participating in the colloquium is asked to contact Mr. Peter Lacovara, Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts 02115, as soon as possible.

GRANTS TO PARTICIPATE IN A SUMMER INSTITUTE

ON LAW AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE

CONTEMPORARY NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East--sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council--announces a five-week institute designed to encourage younger scholars already engaged in the study of the Middle East to view the region from the point of view of the relationship between law and social structure. The seminars of the institute will take place in the summer of 1982 at the American University in Cairo. It is anticipated that similar institutes will be organized in future years in cooperation with other institutions in the Middle East. Full scholarships to participate in all activities of the institute will be offered to approximately sixteen legal scholars and social scientists who have already completed formal studies or are about to be engaged in or have completed writing doctoral theses. It is planned that half the participants will come from Middle Eastern countries and half from the United States. The institute is part of a larger program supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development to encourage research and training on law and social structure in the Middle East.

Who May Apply

Citizens or permanent residents of countries in the Middle East and of the United States.

Location of the Institute

Cairo, Egypt

Date

August 2-September 3, 1981

Language of Instruction

English

Stipend

Round-trip travel expenses between the home of the participant and the American University in Cairo; housing, meals, and an allowance for other living expenses during the institute.

Application Procedure

1. Send a letter describing previous training and what the applicant wishes to gain from participating in the summer institute.
2. Enclose a resumé or curriculum vitae.
3. Arrange to have three letters of recommendation sent directly to the Social Science Research Council, Near and Middle East Summer Institute, by professors under whom applicant has studied or by officials who have employed applicant.

Application Deadline

January 31, 1982

Address

Social Science Research Council
Near and Middle East Summer Institute
605 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10158

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BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

December 4, 1981

POSITION IN EGYPTOLOGY

Effective July 1, 1983 pending budgetary approval an Assistant Professor appointment (\$19,700-\$25,900). Individuals with superior qualifications will be considered for Associate or Full Professor. Ph.D. and distinguished record in scholarship and teaching required. Philological strength and ability to teach all stages of Egyptian (from Old Egyptian through Coptic) required. Supervision of undergraduate and graduate majors in Egyptology and related programs expected.

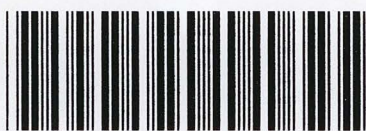
Send applications, including the names of three references, by April 1, 1982 to Chairman Guitty Azarpay, Department of Near Eastern Studies. The University of California is an Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action Employer.



Vertical Aerial Photograph of Valley of the Queens

Berkeley Theban Tomb Mapping Expedition. (This photograph was poorly reproduced in the last issue and deserves another look.)

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